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PAPERS

IN ILLINOIS HISTORY

AND TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1939

THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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FOREWORD

Papers in Illinois History, 1939, is the third volume to be published by the Illinois State Historical Society under this title. Prior to 1937 the corresponding publication was entitled *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*.

Most of the papers presented in this volume were read at the Society's annual meeting at Quincy, May 12 and 13, 1939. However, "Illinois and Her Indians," by Grant Foreman, was delivered at the Illinois Day Meeting in Springfield on December 4, 1939; while "The Hanks Family in Macon County, Illinois (1828-1939)" is presented as a deserving contribution to Illinois history.

Occasional misunderstandings make advisable the following statement of editorial policy: The staff of the Illinois State Historical Society takes every possible precaution to insure accuracy and objectivity, but contributors, rather than the Society, must be held responsible for matters of fact and points of view.

PAUL M. ANGLE, *Editor*.

THE COMPENSATIONS OF AN HISTORIAN

By H. GARY HUDSON*

I wish to thank you for the honor that you have conferred upon me by asking me to address you this afternoon. As a newcomer to this Society and as a mere student and professor of history, I am out of place in posing as an historian and in attempting to discuss the compensations of an historian, but perhaps it seemed that one who has recently abandoned the teaching of history for other duties might cast longing backward looks at the activity which he has left and can see the compensations that he did not realize so clearly before.

The backward look seems in the popular view to be characteristic of the historian. I remember a cartoon portraying the swaying stagecoach of civilization careening down an unknown road with a nearsighted politician for the driver. On the back seat, facing the dusty road that the coach had traveled were two old gentlemen with long gray beards, looking through telescopes at the way that they had come. One was a philosopher and the other an historian. At a recent meeting, the historian was compared, indeed, to the "flu-flu bird" who flies backward because he doesn't give a damn where he is going but he must know where he has been. Some would think that we historians are like the young man in Denver who walked backward and guided his steps by looking in a mirror. The doctors diagnosed his trouble as a form of hysteria.

We must admit at once that the public is correct in its belief that history and historians deal with the past. Professor Carl Becker, in fact, defines history, reduced to lowest terms, as "mem-

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ory of things said and done." In this sense, as he goes on to show, every normal person is an historian and daily goes through the steps of historical technique in those matters which are significant to him. No one, of course, can be said to be conscious who does not have memory. That man is but a child who has no knowledge of the past, who cannot cast at least an occasional backward glance over his shoulder.

Some of us find an interest in the past for its own sake, a form of intellectual activity prompted by curiosity. Whether or not the past has any relevance to the road that we are to cover we want to know where we have been, what particular stones or chuck-holes have rocked the coach and why. For some of us, then—and I am one of these—this is one of the compensations. Problems in history represent puzzles to be worked out. They are for us a means of escape from the too pressing present, as the popularity of historical novels and biographies attests the acceptance by the public of forms of historical writing as escape literature. We simply wish to establish as best we can what happened without reference to any practical use for what we may discover or what we may think that we have discovered.

Sometimes this curiosity may lead to strange results. It is told of the great historian, Leopold von Ranke, that the reading of *Quentin Durward* determined his standpoint in historical scholarship. "The shock of the discovery that Scott's Louis XI was inconsistent with the original in Commines made him resolve that his object thenceforth should be above all things to follow, without swerving, and in stern subordination and surrender, the lead of his authorities." If this were true of those who see the movies and read the recent novels, we should be blessed with thousands of great historians. That we are not is probably due to the fact that these people do not know the originals. The historian becomes discriminating.

Isolated facts, however, if there ever are isolated facts, are of little importance. We begin to inquire why events occurred and this involves the meaning or significance of what may have been

ascertained. Thus we become concerned with relations between facts, and in attempting to determine the reason for an event we begin to follow a chain of causation which may carry us farther and farther back into the past. These steps, besides affording that first compensation of satisfying curiosity, lead toward a more practical end. History, it is said, never repeats itself, although historians do. Be that as it may, whatever has happened may happen again. Although historical parallels are often seductive and dangerous, nevertheless they may be illuminating and the man who is familiar with the intricacies of international anarchy before 1914 may see more clearly than others the issues of 1939, when the cry "Gott strafe England" is heard again in Berlin.

It is obvious that guidance for the future must be found in the past, that the clue to the unknown must be discovered in the known, that, to use an expression from the practice of gunnery, the aiming point is to the rear. Human nature assumes an infinite number of forms but it forever remains the same and men, whether their affairs be large or small, are moved by desire for power, revenge and security, by ambition and love, and occasionally by reason. History, therefore, by telling us how we got here can instruct us, if we use her instruction wisely, as to what we are and may expect to be. James Harvey Robinson reminds us of the common experience of waking up in an unfamiliar room. Gradually as we identify doors and windows and articles of furniture we remember how we came to be where we are and why we are there. Thus existence acquires meaning and we learn from the past.

The philosopher, indeed, sitting beside the historian on the coach to which I have alluded, points out that all *living* history is contemporaneous. The past is part of our present. It has inevitably and unchangeably affected the present. It lives in what we are and do, and past and present together mark our future. History has "no beginning," says Lord Acton, "because the dense web of the fortunes of man is woven without a void" and "no end, because . . . history made and history making are scientifically inseparable and separately unmeaning."

Moreover, history teaches us the long view and gives us patience and courage. History is comforting. The historian, less than others, I believe, should become fretful and despondent. He should know that these present things pass away. Error cannot forever prevail over truth, nor justice over injustice, nor war over peace. Confident in the final victory of truth, justice, mercy and peace, the historian faces the trials of the present and the unknown of the future with the courage of a faith not blind but born of knowledge. Furthermore, confronted by the vast panorama of the ages of man's life on this earth, the historian will learn humility, "remembering," in the words of Gilbert Murray, "above all to walk gently in a world where the lights are dim and the very stars wander."

If the cultivation of patience, courage, and humility are compensations of an historian, another is the cultivation of conservatism, a sense of the value and necessity of slow progress, especially in an age of speed. No historian will throw away the past and attempt to begin all over again. He knows that attempts to break violently with the past, whether by "the Mountain" in revolutionary France or by the leaders of revolutionary Russia, have meant an inevitable retracing of steps. Ennius, said Cicero, spoke as by an oracle when he described the basis of the Roman state: "Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque,"—"By ancient customs and by men the Roman state endures." Whether we live under an Old Deal or a New Deal, our American republic will not live if we forget those principles of liberty, democracy and peace that inspired the founding of our government. They are essential to our existence as Americans. But even these principles without men of character and vision are sterile. We have a duty to inculcate their memory upon the minds and hearts of each generation of the youth. Otherwise, we betray our forefathers and we shall see our country follow the course of the brilliant failures of the past.

"By ancient customs and by men" the state endures. The customs are preserved in the traditions of the community. The

men, after they are gone, are remembered for what they said and did and made. Therefore, records of them must be preserved. Care for the safekeeping of their memorials marks the maturity of a society. A young community is careless of its past, its eyes are on its future alone. As it grows older, it comes to cherish its inheritance and to preserve for posterity the evidences of its past. These records, written and unwritten, are the materials for its history and they "make history independent of historians." This is the great and invaluable function of such an organization as this, to discover, protect, and preserve the records of the men and women of our past. We are concerned with the records of men and women who have gained distinction, whose influence has been far-reaching. We are no less concerned with the records of common men and women. It has been truly said that none is so humble that his life would not be worth recording. The satisfaction, therefore, that comes from having a part in this work of perpetuating the knowledge of our past is another compensation of the historian, a task in which all who have the will to do so may share. Thus, in a real sense we may all become historians.

I have been discussing the compensations of an historian. "Compensations" implies gains that merely offset the labor of historical study. Yet the pleasures are so great and the pains so trivial in comparison that, it seems to me, I should have used the word "rewards" rather than "compensations." The rewards of historical study blot out all else, for the study of history, says Lord Acton again, "fulfils its purpose even if it only makes us wiser, . . . and gives us the gift of historical thinking, which is better than historical learning."

FLOATING NAMESAKES OF THE SUCKER STATE

SOME UPPER MISSISSIPPI STEAMBOATS

By WILLIAM J. PETERSEN*

The history of steamboating on the Upper Mississippi may be gleaned from the story of the boats that left their smoke trails on that mighty waterway. Approximately twenty-five hundred different vessels have plied the Upper Mississippi since the epoch-making voyage of the *Virginia* in 1823. At least ninety-five per cent of these boats docked at some up-river port like Quincy prior to the death of Diamond Jo Reynolds in 1891. Except for a few new packets, ferries, and raftboats, practically the only other craft that churned the waters of the Mississippi since 1890 have belonged to the United States Engineers or to the Federal Barge Line. It is doubtful if a score of boats could be named that did not fall into one of the above five classifications.[1]

Upper Mississippi steamboats of the early days bore a wide variety of names. Some were named for their captains and owners; others carried the names of generals, senators, presidents, and other notable characters. At least one, the *Bill Henderson*, was named for a bartender who later became a liquor magnate, owning the bars on several boats. Over three hundred steamboats were named for women—the *Aunt Letty*, *Lady Franklin*, *Grace Darling*, *Jenny Lind*, *Kate Kearney*, *Fannie Harris*, *Nellie Bly*, and the *Alice Wild* are a few examples. In addition to these, steamboats

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[1] An analysis of statistical data compiled by the author would warrant these conclusions.

were named for Indians and Indian chiefs, animals, birds, astronomical terms, and mythological words. Perhaps the largest number of steamboats, however, were named after states and after river towns, approximately twenty per cent of the Upper Mississippi craft falling in this category.[2] Since the Illinois State Historical Society has chosen to hold its Fortieth Annual Meeting on the banks of the Mississippi at Quincy and Nauvoo, an account of the floating namesakes of the Sucker State and the steamboats named for these particular river towns, may be appropriate.

The State of Illinois has had at least a dozen steamboat namesakes on the Upper Mississippi. In addition to these there were almost a hundred more boats named for the various river towns and counties between Alton and Galena. Little Nauvoo can point with pride to three namesakes while Quincy can boast of eight.[3] From fugitive newspaper files, from yellowed bills of lading, from the musty records of collectors of customs and United States steamboat inspectors, from the accounts of travelers and old rivermen, come these thumbnail sketches of the floating namesakes of the Sucker State, of Quincy, and of Nauvoo.

The first steamboat named for Illinois was enrolled at New Orleans in 1828. Little is known about this first namesake of the Sucker State. She seems to have been constructed somewhere on the Ohio River, although even this is uncertain. She appeared in the Galena lead trade in 1828, was running in the Illinois River

[2] The most complete list of Upper Mississippi steamboats was compiled by Captain George B. Merrick of Madison, Wisconsin, ably assisted by Captain Fred A. Bill. During a period of thirty-five years scores of old-time rivermen contributed to Captain Merrick's list from their sources of knowledge and experience. The list was printed alphabetically in the *Burlington* [Iowa] *Post*, beginning on August 29, 1914 and ending on December 6, 1919. It comprised 257 chapters, in addition to a vast amount of supplementary material under the caption "The Old Boats." The author has increased Merrick's list of boats on the Upper Mississippi before 1850 by about forty per cent. He has also added much valuable data about boats in Merrick's list, of which virtually nothing was known.

[3] Galena and Alton alone rival Quincy in the number of steamboat namesakes. There were three steamboats *Galena*, one christened *Galenian*, and another called the *St. Louis and Galena Packet*. There were three boats named *Alton*, two dubbed *Belle of Alton*, and one *City of Alton*. Dunleith, Savanna, Fulton, Rock Island, Moline, New Boston, Keithsburg, Oquawka, Niota, Hamilton, Warsaw, and Grafton were other Upper Mississippi River towns in Illinois to have one or more namesakes.

trade in 1835, and apparently was abandoned in 1837. Ten years of faithful service were probably sufficient to wear her out.[4]

The second *Illinois* was built at Pittsburgh in 1839. This sturdy little eighty-five ton craft toiled in the Fever River lead trade in command of H. J. Sweeney.[5] A bill of lading dated June 22, 1840, shows her carrying freight at $1.00 per 100 pounds from St. Louis to St. Peter's. The consignment for fur trader Franklin Steele included 10 barrels of New Orleans sugar weighing 3,093 pounds and 7 boxes of tobacco weighing 1,185 pounds.[6]

In 1841 the second *Illinois* made ten round trips between Galena and St. Louis, towing seven keelboats loaded with lead and miscellaneous freight. She is reported to have made $8,000 on freight and $4,000 on passengers that year. In 1842, she received $3,000 on freight and passengers in three trips to the lead mines. Her captain was probably looking forward to another good season when disaster overtook her. It was late in April and the *Illinois* was cautiously threading her way through the treacherous Des Moines Rapids, heavily loaded with freight and with a large force of troops aboard bound for Fort Crawford. All at once she struck a reef near Montrose and sank, with a loss of much of her cargo. The steamboat *Ariel* brought her passengers safely to Galena.[7]

The third *Illinois* was a steam ferryboat built at St. Louis in 1843. She was a double-hulled 137-ton craft belonging to a number of St. Louis citizens. She finally came into the possession of Captain William C. Wiggins, founder of the Wiggins Ferry Com-

[4] *Burlington Post*, Feb. 19, 1916. Merrick makes a number of errors about this boat and confuses her with the second *Illinois*. *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807 to 1856* (Washington, 1932), 10. The first *Illinois* was among the twelve boats recorded at the Galena levee in 1828 according to a list compiled by the writer.

[5] The archives of the Collector of Customs are among the richest depositories of information on steamboating. Customs officers are scattered throughout the Mississippi Valley. *Enrolment of Vessels*, Collector of Customs Office, Pittsburgh, Enrolment 86, March 12, 1841. The boat was 130 feet long, 19½ feet beam, and 3½ feet depth of hold. See also *Burlington Post*, Feb. 19, 1916.

[6] A bill of lading in the possession of Captain Fred A. Bill (now deceased) at St. Paul.

[7] *Senate Docs.*, 28 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. no. 242, p. 8; *Iowa Standard* [Muscatine], April 16, 1841; *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, April 26, 1842.

UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER, 1854
From Appleton, *U. S. Guide Book*

pany, an organization long identified with St. Louis transportation.[8]

The fourth *Illinois* was a 763-ton stern-wheeler built at Sardis, Ohio, in 1865. She had the machinery of the *Sam Gaty*, and is said to have cost $60,000. Many rivermen considered the fourth *Illinois* the finest boat ever to ply in the Illinois River trade. She made occasional trips to the Upper Mississippi before being dismantled at St. Louis in 1874.[9]

Like her predecessor, the fifth *Illinois* was another St. Louis and Peoria packet which made occasional runs on the Upper Mississippi. On April 29, 1881, the *Quincy Whig* chronicled her first landing at Quincy in command of Captain Thompson. She had been employed by Commodore Davidson to run in the St. Louis and Keokuk trade and was said to be one of the swiftest vessels on the river. Her elegant and commodious cabin, together with her extra large staterooms, particularly delighted the editor of the *Quincy Whig*. Unfortunately the boat broke her cylinder soon after entering the up-river trade and was forced to withdraw.[10]

The sixth *Illinois* was built at Quincy in 1901. A 168-ton stern-wheeler, this craft was originally designed for the Illinois River trade. Soon after her construction, however, she was bought by the State of Illinois for the use of the State Fish Commission. She served in this capacity until 1913 when Governor Dunn ordered her detached from the Commission on the ground that certain convivial politicians (and their no less convivial ladies) had abused the uses for which the boat had been intended. She was accordingly turned over to the Alton Division of the Illinois

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[8] *Enrolment of Vessels*, Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis, Enrolment 5 ' Jan. 9, 1844; Enrolment 119, Dec. 14, 1844. The third *Illinois* was 130 feet long, 30 feet in breadth, and had a depth of 4½ feet. In her first enrolment Captain John C. Ford swore that James Harrison was her owner. In her second enrolment, at the close of the year, William C. Wiggins swore that Adam L. Mills, Charles Mullikens, J. H. Gay, Bernard Pratt, and the estate of Andrew Christy were the owners.

[9] *Burlington Post*, Feb. 19, 1916; Captain F. L. Wooldridge list at Memphis, Tennessee.

[10] *Quincy Whig*, April 29, May 5, 6, 1881. The fifth *Illinois* was built at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1871 and measured 728 tons.

Naval Reserves after this date.[11]

Almost a century elapsed from the day when the first *Illinois* plowed the waters of the Upper Mississippi in 1828 until the construction of the seventh *Illinois* at Stillwater, Minnesota, in 1921. Owned by the Federal Barge Line, this powerful 1,411-ton towboat can develop over 2,000 horsepower and shove as much freight in a single tow as the twoscore boats engaged on the Upper Mississippi in 1839 could carry on their decks. Originally a sternwheeler, the seventh *Illinois* has been converted into a tunnel-type propeller boat, thus adding to her power and increasing her efficiency. Although built on the Upper Mississippi, the seventh *Illinois* spends her time in the Lower River trade.[12]

There were many other boats named for the Sucker State that either plied regularly or at least made occasional visits to the ports on the Upper Mississippi. In 1835 the *Illinoian*[13] was constructed at St. Louis; in 1845 the *Belle of Illinois* slid from the ways at Freedom, Pennsylvania.[14] The side-wheel ferry *Northern Illinois* was launched at Wellsville, Ohio, in 1846 for the Northern Illinois Railroad Company. She was a small 124-ton boat that churned between Muscatine, Iowa, and the Illinois shore. She was later sold to Captain Leonard of Prescott, Wisconsin, who in turn disposed of her to Hersey, Staples and Company of Stillwater, Minnesota. Rebuilt in 1883, and renamed the *Bun Hersey*, she plied in the rafting trade for more than a score of years. When the rafting industry died down, the *Bun Hersey* (alias *Northern Illinois*) commenced towing coal around Paducah, Kentucky. She thus saw

[11] *Burlington Post*, Feb. 19, 1916; U. S. Dep't. of Commerce, *Thirty-Seventh Annual List of Merchant Vessels of the United States* (House Doc. no. 16, 59 Cong., 1 Sess, Washington, 1905), 246.

[12] See *Merchant Vessels of the United States*, 1930 and 1938.

[13] *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807 to 1856*, p. 21. *Enrolment of Vessels*, Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis, May 1, 1835. The *Illinoian* was captained by Levi Hutchinson of St. Louis and owned by Robert McQueen of the same city. She was 80 feet long, 15 feet 3 inches beam, 3 feet 3 inches depth of hold, and measured 37 tons. The boat was lost in 1836.

[14] *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807 to 1856*, p. 51. The *Belle of Illinois* was snagged and sunk at Compte Island on the Red River on December 12, 1847, according to records of Captain F. L. Wooldridge.

active service from the era of the Civil War until World War days.[15]

Still other boats bore the patronymic of the State of Illinois. The first *Prairie State* was built at Griggsville, Illinois, in 1847. Owned and commanded by Thomas Baldwin, this craft was among the twenty-three steamboats destroyed in the great St. Louis fire of May 17, 1849. The second *Prairie State* was built at Griggsville in 1850; she burned with the steamboat *Kentucky* at Rock Island in July, 1855. Two other Upper Mississippi craft—the *Prairie Bird* and the *Prairie Rose*—seem by their names and their service to belong with the other steamboats named for Illinois.[16]

Perhaps the most colorful steamboat namesake of the State of Illinois was the Northern Line Packet *Sucker State*. This sleek side-wheeler was constructed at Pittsburgh by Captain Richard C. Grey, superintendent of construction of the Northern Line. Launched in the spring of 1860, the *Sucker State* was a sister ship of the *Hawkeye State*, which slid from the ways in the same year. Captain Grey intended that these boats should be fast and they both fully came up to the expectations of their skillful designer. The *Sucker State* was 230 feet long, 36 foot beam, and her hold was 5 feet, 5 inches. She measured 523.77 tons. Her cylinders were 22 inches in diameter and she had a 7 foot stroke. She was commanded by Thomas B. Rhodes in 1860 and 1861.[17]

During her twelve years of active service on the Upper Mississippi, the *Sucker State* distinguished herself in a variety of ways. Twice she won the coveted honor of being the first steamboat to arrive at St. Paul. She was popular with the traveling public and with shippers; in 1861 she carried 1,000 tons of freight downstream

[15] *Burlington Post*, Feb. 7, 1914; Jan. 5, 1918; *Merchant Vessels of the United States*, 1892, 1900, and 1905. The *Northern Illinois* was inspected at Galena, Illinois, on June 20, 1865, according to her certificate found in the Steamboat Inspector's Office at Dubuque.

[16] *Burlington Post*, May 4, 1918. The *Prairie Bird* was built at St. Louis in 1845. She was a 213-ton craft captained by Nicholas Wall and owned by William Saltmarsh and William Taylor. *Enrolment of Vessels*, Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis, Enrolment 98, Aug. 14, 1845. The *Prairie Rose* was a 241-ton sternwheel packet built at Brownsville, Pennsylvania in 1854. See also *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807 to 1856*, pp. 54, 101.

[17] *Burlington Post*, Oct. 26, 1918.

THE *Illinois*—SEVENTH OF THE NAME

from Dubuque. Throughout her career (and she churned the waters of the Upper Mississippi during years of bitter competition) the *Sucker State* met with few accidents. In 1866 unconfirmed reports were brought to Dubuque that the boat had twenty-five cholera cases aboard, ten of whom were later buried on an island at the mouth of Catfish Creek. But when she was inspected by Dubuque health authorities a few weeks later she was given a clean bill of health.[18]

The *Sucker State* ranks high among the race horses of the Upper Mississippi. She first demonstrated her speed in May, 1861 when she steamed from St. Louis to St. Paul in 3 days and 22 hours, discharging 425 passengers and 309 tons of freight at her regular stops, and even squirming up the Fever River to Galena. The following June the *Sucker State* made this run in 71 hours and 48 minutes running time, or an average of almost 10 miles an hour upstream. She shaved an even 2 hours off this record in 1867, when she made the 700 mile run in 69 hours and 48 minutes. During this same year she ran the 275 miles from St. Paul to Dubuque in 20 hours and 5 minutes running time, or better than 13 miles an hour downstream. Her time through Lake Pepin was 1 hour and 31 minutes; or an average of 14 miles an hour for the 22 miles of currentless waters. Throughout her career the *Sucker State* gallantly carried the colors of the Northern Line in its bitter struggle against the fleet race horses of Commodore William F. Davidson's White Collar Line.[19]

Before discussing the floating namesakes of Quincy, let us first consider the significance of river transportation to that thriving river town. The importance of steamboating to such a pioneer community can hardly be overestimated. In 1825, two years after the first steamboat ascended the Mississippi to Fort Snelling,

[18] *Dubuque Herald*, May 28, 1861, Aug. 26, 30, 1866.

[19] *Dubuque Herald*, May 28, June 15, 1861; June 25, 29, July 2, 1867. In 1869 the *Sucker State* made the run from St. Paul to St. Louis in three days and three hours, running part of the time with one engine. Her continual racing was probably responsible for her being laid up a short time for repairs. *Dubuque Herald*, July 1, 1869. On July 14, 1871 the *Quincy Whig* called attention to the fact that the veteran Northern Line boat had passed there on her way to St. Louis where she was to be dismantled.

the town of Quincy was located. A decade later, in 1835, the census disclosed only 700 inhabitants. These were still forced to import almost all of their manufactured material and much of their foodstuff. Thereafter Quincy grew rapidly both in population and in export trade. By 1837 the population had leaped to 1,653 and the town was exporting down the Mississippi $85,000 in pork, $19,500 in flour, and $8,000 in wheat. Quincy was on the threshold of a meteoric growth and its sturdy pioneers were perfectly aware of the importance of the great highway that flowed by their door.[20]

The opening of navigation after a long winter siege was awaited with genuine anxiety. The winter of 1840-1841 was a particularly long one for Quincy. Stocks of merchandise were low, food was scarce, and there was a general stagnation of activity. There was general rejoicing when the steamboat *Rosalie* puffed up to the Quincy landing on March 1, 1841, to open the season of navigation. The effect on the commerce of the heretofore isolated community was readily apparent. The *Quincy Whig* said:

> The landing has put on quite a business appearance within the last few days—citizens and strangers collected at the corners, and drays and wagons passing to and fro, make the change quite agreeable after a long winter. As severe as the times are, we believe the business prospects of our city, are as fair as most other river towns.

In August of the same year the editor of the *Whig* noticed a "continual stream of wagons" coming into the city with the new wheat crop. Some of these wagons came from such distant points as Schuyler, Brown, and McDonough counties. Amidst such activity it is not surprising that the census should show Quincy with a population of 2,686. The commercial growth of the town was further reflected by 1,000 steamboat arrivals during 1841.[21]

By 1849 the population of Quincy had jumped to 5,500.

[20] *Quincy Whig*, June 18, 1842; Joseph T. Holmes, *Quincy in 1857* (Quincy, 1857), 9-11.

[21] *Quincy Whig*, Feb. 27, March 6, 13, August 21, 1841; Holmes, *Quincy in 1857*, 12.

Fully 800,000 bushels of grain were being shipped down the Mississippi and some 5,500,000 hogs were packed. Rafts of lumber were floated down the Mississippi to feed Quincy's hungry sawmills: in 1835 some 23,000 feet of pine lumber were brought around from the Ohio; during the first eight months of 1848 a total of 22,560,000 feet of lumber were floated down the Mississippi. Quincy was made a port of entry in 1853 and attached to the Customs Office at New Orleans. By the mid-fifties her levee and harbor were unsurpassed, and well they might be, for the wharfmaster in 1856 chronicled 2,921 steamboat arrivals.[22]

During the eight years preceding the Panic of 1857, Quincy's population increased at the rate of 1,600 annually. Writing of bustling Quincy in 1855, Dr. J. F. Everhart recorded:

> The present population is about 14,000, nearly one half of which is German, a *reasonable* proportion of Irish, and the remainder Americans. There is probably, six hundred stores and workshops; one hundred boarding-houses, and a number of commodious well-kept hotels.[23]

Prior to 1880 no other Upper Mississippi River town in Illinois enjoyed so phenomenal a growth as did Quincy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Gem City of Illinois should lead all others in the number of steamboat namesakes.[24]

It was not merely civic pride which prompted a river town to sponsor a steamboat. It was a form of advertising that was supposed to produce material results. To have the name of a town constantly before the eyes of those who saw a proud steamboat plying up and down the river each season was bound to attract favorable notice. Moreover, the name greeted the reader of steamboat advertisements in the newspapers, while the boat's arrival and departure was chronicled under port events. Drownings and accidents, a spirited race or an exceptionally fast run be-

[22] Holmes, *Quincy in 1857*, 12-20.

[23] *Quincy City Directory, for 1855-6*, compiled by J. F. Everhart (Quincy, 1855), 15.

[24] For a similar account of an Iowa river town's namesakes see the writer's "Steamboats Dubuque" in *The Palimpsest*, Vol. X, No. 11 (Nov., 1929), 398-411.

tween two ports, heavy cargoes, or notable passengers—all events, in fact, of distinct interest to the community—were reported in a column devoted to river news alone and immediately became the subject of local discussion and debate. Those immigrants who were trekking into the Northwest with no particular destination in mind doubtless gave sober consideration to those cities whose names were borne by the great packets on which they came.

While the value of such advertising was recognized, the results were often nebulous in character and difficult to measure. That the actual clink of coins in local cash drawers was directly connected with trade attracted by the name of a steamboat, however, was commonly claimed. In 1859 a Dubuque editor asserted that the steamboat *Key City* was responsible for the expenditure of not less than $12,000 annually among local merchants and mechanics, money which would otherwise have gone to Galena.[25]

But steamboat captains and owners were equally enriched by this flourish of good will. Local merchants and travelers usually felt a strong attachment to their namesake and gave her the bulk of their patronage. Generally speaking, this feeling was best expressed in the local press where everyone from the captain and clerk to the lowliest deck hand and roustabout was commended and extolled for his Herculean efforts to make the passengers on board comfortable.

Although great profits were reaped because of city preference for their namesakes, the steamboats derived still other benefits. It was the custom of the citizens to present a set of colors to the vessel which bore the name of their city. These consisted of dozens of small flags made of the finest bunting. Large streamers bearing the boat's name, together with a handsome American standard, were also included. Whenever an excursion was planned, a race won, or the time and occasion demanded that the boat be adorned in holiday attire, the colors were run up the flagstaff and around the ship from stem to stern. Thus arrayed in gala apparel, an Upper Mississippi steamboat of the middle period rivaled

[25] *Dubuque Express and Herald*, April 10, 1859.

Northern Line Packet *Sucker State*, 1860-1872

Coney Island itself in many respects.[26]

Besides a fine set of colors the steamboat namesake was often granted free wharfage by the town she had honored. This was usually of real monetary value, the profit derived varying with the tonnage of the boat, the number of arrivals during the season, and the rate of wharfage in effect at the time. The latter, of course, varied with the size of the town. Assuming that a five per cent wharfage rate existed, a boat of 600 tons would save $600 if it arrived twenty times during the season. The Northern Line of St. Louis was especially adept at taking advantage of this practice. In 1869, for example, five of their eight boats were the *Muscatine*, the *Davenport*, the *Dubuque*, the *Red Wing*, and the *Minneapolis*, constituting a daily line from St. Louis to St. Paul.[27]

Commodore William F. Davidson was not slow in naming the boats of his White Collar Line after river towns. When Quincy failed to give free wharfage to his newly built *Gem City* in 1881, Davidson refused to land at that port until the Quincy city council made adjustments in the wharfage rates.[28]

With these economic benefits in mind let us consider the namesakes of the Gem City. Four steamboats had the name of *Quincy* emblazoned on their paddle boxes. Two were named *City of Quincy* in honor of the westernmost metropolis of Illinois. Two others bore the sobriquet *Gem City* on their gilded pilot houses. Very seldom during the past hundred years has Quincy been without a steamboat namesake.[29]

[26] On July 4, 1858, the citizens of Warsaw, Illinois presented a fine piano for use on the new steamboat *Warsaw*, a vessel that had been built at Madison, Indiana, for the Keokuk Packet Company. On July 12, 1900, Charles C. Fink of St. Louis addressed a letter to the Mayor of Warsaw proposing to sell the old piano back to the city, name plate and all, as a historical relic. *Burlington Post*, Aug. 4, 1900.

[27] *Dubuque Herald*, Jan. 7, 28, 1869. Smaller boats of the line included the *Savanna*, *City of Keithsburg*, and *New Boston*, all named for Illinois river towns. The *Sucker State*, the *Hawkeye State*, and the *Minnesota* were the state namesakes of the Northern Line.

[28] Commodore Davidson had seen his *War Eagle* attached and refused to allow his new *Gem City* to suffer a similar disgrace. The controversy occupied the attention of the city council for several months. *Quincy Whig*, July 6, 8, 13, 19, 26, 27, 29, 30, Aug. 3, 5, Sept. 6, 1881.

[29] Since the larger river towns promised more business and charged higher wharfage, it was natural for steamboat captains and corporations to cater to them, rather than to the smaller places.

The first *Quincy* was built at Pittsburgh in 1836. She was a 117-ton side-wheeler captained by Neil Cameron of St. Louis and owned by Pittsburgh-St. Louis interests. The first *Quincy* was running in the Galena lead trade as late as 1840 when she was commanded by Captain Lusk. Thereafter she disappeared from the Upper Mississippi records and her final disposition is unknown.[30]

The next *Quincy* namesake appeared in 1856, a handsome 427-ton side-wheeler belonging to the Keokuk Packet Company. Her hull was built at Jeffersonville, Indiana, but the boat was finished in St. Louis. Intended as a regular packet in the St. Louis and Keokuk trade, the second *Quincy* ran with the *Westerner*, the *Keokuk*, and the *Sam Gaty*, under the proud aegis of the first Upper Mississippi steamboat corporation. When she docked at the St. Louis levee a local newspaper described her as "by far the handsomest and finest finished and furnished boat in the line." The cabin of this 250-foot floating palace ran the full length of the boat and possessed stateroom accommodations for 120 passengers. The engines, boilers, furniture, carpentry, and cutlery, all had been furnished by St. Louis merchants. Small wonder that the *St. Louis Republican* should praise the Keokuk Packet Company for its contributions both to St. Louis wealth and to steamboating.[31]

The third *Quincy* was a 121-ton side-wheel ferryboat that saw service at Quincy in the years immediately following the Civil War. Before telling the story of the fourth *Quincy* let me first give the history of the boats named *City of Quincy* and *Gem City*.[32]

The first *City of Quincy* was built at Madison, Indiana, in

[30] *Enrolment of Vessels*, Collector of Customs Office, Pittsburgh, Enrolment 28, April 16, 1836. The boat was 142 feet long, 17 feet, 4 inches in breadth, and 5 feet depth of hold. Merrick records the first *Quincy* at Galena in 1840 but knows nothing more about her. *Burlington Post*, May 18, 1918.

[31] *Enrolment of Vessels*, Collector of Customs Office, St. Louis, March 15, 1859; *Keokuk Gate City*, Feb. 28, March 8, 14, 1856; *St. Louis Republican*, quoted in the *Quincy Whig*, July 26, 1856; *Burlington Post*, May 18, 1918; Captain F. L. Wooldridge of Memphis, Tennessee records a 157-ton side-wheeler *Quincy* built at Cincinnati in 1847. The writer has no record of her on the Upper Mississippi.

[32] Little is known of the third *Quincy*. She was built at Madison, Indiana in 1858, and, according to Merrick, was in service as late as 1873, hailing from Quincy. *Burlington Post*, May 18, 1918.

1870. She was a splendid 275-foot side-wheeler and measured 1,188.58 tons. She had sixty staterooms in her main cabin and twenty rooms in the Texas for her officers. Although mainly identified with the St. Louis and New Orleans trade, the *City of Quincy* occasionally plied in the St. Louis-Keokuk trade. Perhaps her most unusual feat took place in 1871 when she left New Orleans for St. Paul on May 30 with a full passenger list at a one-way rate of $33. Captain Judson T. West was in command on this trip. At St. Louis she was boarded by Captain William Fisher and Captain Brock who piloted her to St. Paul. The *City of Quincy* arrived at St. Paul on June 13, fourteen days out of New Orleans. She lay over at that port three days, during which time she was visited by immense throngs of people anxious to see the largest boat ever to reach the head of navigation. The *City of Quincy* is the only boat known to have made the through trip from New Orleans to St. Paul on a regular run. She was not particularly fast, making only 8.6 miles an hour through the virtually current-less waters of Lake Pepin. During the next few years she ran between St. Louis and Keokuk wearing the white collars of Commodore Davidson's line on her smokestacks. She was too large for the Upper Mississippi trade, however, and was ultimately sold to Lower Mississippi interests. The first *City of Quincy* was snagged and sunk at Hardin's Point, in Arkansas, seventy-five miles below Memphis.[33]

The second *City of Quincy* was built at Quincy, Illinois, in 1891. She was 130 feet long, 25 feet beam, 6 feet depth, and measured 183 tons. Owned by the Parmelees of St. Louis, the second *City of Quincy* ran in the Keokuk trade until destroyed in the St. Louis cyclone of May 27, 1896.[34]

Two Quincy namesakes rejoiced in the name of *Gem City*. Both were among the swiftest race horses that ever turned a wheel on the Upper Mississippi and both were popular with the

[33] *Proceedings of the Board of Supervising Inspectors, 1877* (Washington, 1877), 147, 164; *Burlington Post*, April 25, 1914; Captain F. L. Wooldridge list.

[34] *Quincy Herald*, May 30, 1896; *Proc. Board of Inspectors, 1897*, p. 37; *Burlington Post*, April 25, 1914; Captain Wooldridge list.

traveling public. The first *Gem City* was 303 feet long, 36 feet beam, 6 feet depth of hold, measured 756 tons, and cost over $65,000. She had the machinery of the powerful *Andy Johnson*. Despite her great size she drew less than 30 inches with fuel aboard and steam up. Owned by Commodore William F. Davidson and his St. Louis and St. Paul Packet Company, the first *Gem City* combined lightness of draft with beauty of outline and great speed. Her passenger accommodations were described as elegant.[35]

When news reached Quincy in the spring of 1881 that Commodore Davidson was pondering over an appropriate name for his new boat the business interests of that thriving city promptly requested that it be called *City of Quincy*. The *Quincy Whig* promised a "royal reception" for the boat if this honor should be accorded Quincy. The paper also pointed out that Commodore Davidson would become "immensely popular." There was general rejoicing when word arrived that the new boat would be given the sobriquet *Gem City*. Plans were immediately made for a fitting welcome for this new Quincy namesake.[36]

Meanwhile some dissatisfaction was expressed over the use of the patronymic *Gem City*. The *Quincy Whig* was especially disgruntled over the use of the city's nickname. The editor grumbled:

> We suppose that it is not in "good form" to look a gift horse in the mouth. But we cannot help suggesting that if those who were so kind as to name a new steamboat in honor of this city, had named it Quincy instead of the "Gem City," the favor would have been more to the purpose. As it is, a good many ignorant people up the river may take it for an absurd attempt to flatter St. Louis.[37]

Despite this sour note, plans went ahead for a reception worthy of the *Gem City*. A committee of thirty prominent citizens arranged a popular reception and sent out invitations for a

[35] *Proc. Board of Inspectors, 1882*; *Burlington Post*, June 19, 1915; *Quincy Whig*, April 27, 1881.
[36] *Ibid.*, April 27, May 19, 25, 26, 1881.
[37] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1881.

Rebuilding the Second *Gem City*, 1896
In 1903 the *Gem City* was renamed the *Quincy*—fourth of the name

special excursion. A handsome set of colors was ordered consisting of a large bunting flag bearing the name *Gem City*, and two long streamers bearing the names Quincy and St. Louis, one to be placed over each wheelhouse. Pending the arrival of the *Gem City* a brass band was to play in the park. An additional attraction was secured when W. B. Bull kindly consented to turn on the water in the levee fountain in honor of the occasion.[38]

On the morning of June 2, 1881, promptly at the hour of nine, the first *Gem City* puffed proudly up to the Quincy levee. Cannon boomed a thunderous salute, the band blared martial music, and a tremendous roar rose from the crowd which stretched from Main Street to the railroad depot. Commodore Davidson and Captain Abe Hutchinson stood on the upper deck of the gallant craft bowing graciously in acknowledgment of the acclaim. When the boat was made fast to the wharf the orator of the day, Colonel W. W. Berry, stepped into the especially erected speakers' stand to present the colors to the *Gem City*.

Colonel Berry praised Commodore Davidson, hailing him as the "steadfast friend" of Quincy. It was the Commodore's sagacity, Berry pointed out, that had won for him the control of the St. Louis and St. Paul Packet Company, "a great and important factor in the transportation system of the northwest." After strongly denouncing the selfish railroad interests, Colonel Berry expressed his delight at Davidson's complete understanding of one of the nation's primary problems, then as now—low transportation rates. The citizens of Quincy, Berry concluded, felt fortunate that they could deal with a man who knew "that exactions, extortions, and unjust discriminations, like dishonesty, are the very worst sort of policy." It was in behalf of these citizens, whose teeming thousands assembled on the levee represented but a "corporal's guard" of the many well-wishers of the packet company, that Colonel Berry presented the colors of the *Gem City* to Commodore Davidson. The Colonel's speech was greeted with loud applause.

[38] *Quincy Whig*, May 26, 27, 31, 1881.

Visibly touched by this warm reception, Commodore Davidson expressed his deepest gratitude in behalf of the St. Louis and St. Paul Packet Company. At the conclusion of his speech the band played a stirring number. The citizens of Quincy then swarmed aboard their beautiful namesake.

The first *Gem City* lived up to her lavish advance notices. Her immense size, her light draft and great speed, were readily apparent. Her full-length cabin and her Texas, which covered almost the entire hurricane deck, combined to afford berths for nearly three hundred passengers. The cabin was neatly constructed and elegantly furnished. She was in fact, exactly what the *St. Louis Republican* described her, a very "diadem of Western naval architecture." She boasted an electric searchlight, and is said to be the first steamboat on the Upper Mississippi to adopt this new device as an aid to navigation. Before she left for Keokuk on a short excursion with the leading citizens of Quincy on board, the boat was presented with two large floral horseshoes. The ladies of Quincy who made the excursion placed a handsome Bible in the cabin of the *Gem City*.[39]

A feature of the *Gem City's* maiden voyage up the Mississippi was her warm reception at every port along the way. New boats were always received with festive applause by the towns whose name they bore but it was not customary for every town to turn out en masse to inspect a boat from stem to stern. This was the situation in the case of the *Gem City*, however. Milling crowds greeted her all along the way between St. Louis and St. Paul. At La Crosse 2,500 citizens lined a levee that fairly glowed with Chinese lanterns, and with mottoes formed from gas jets. Rockets and Roman candles added color to the occasion. Even staid St. Paul decorated her Wabasha Street Bridge in honor of the new river queen.[40]

A distinguishing feature of the first *Gem City* was her great speed. Immediately following her maiden voyage she made the run from St. Louis to St. Paul in sixty-three hours running time.

[39] *Quincy Whig*, June 2, 3, 1881.
[40] *St. Louis Republican*, quoted in the *Quincy Whig*, July 1, 1881.

The Fourth *Quincy*

This was faster time than the record hung up by either the *Sucker State* or the *Hawkeye State*. Although she was advertised to make regular weekly round trip runs between St. Louis and St. Paul, the company frequently found it necessary to assign her to the Keokuk trade because of her great size. She was extremely popular in the Keokuk trade, making three trips per week and running with the regularity of a railroad train. She was destined to run only three seasons, however, burning at St. Louis on September 22, 1883. The loss was estimated at $60,000.[41]

Soon after the loss of the first *Gem City*, Commodore Davidson commenced laying plans for a new boat to take her place. A Burlington editor urged that the new craft be called the "Orchard City" in honor of that thriving Iowa town. He pointed out that Burlingtonians had hoped the steamboat *St. Paul* would be named for Burlington, but this was prevented through the successful efforts of the metropolis at the head of navigation. Fortunately for Quincy the Burlington suggestion went unheeded for Commodore Davidson chose to name his new boat *Gem City*.[42]

When the second *Gem City* arrived at Quincy on September 4, 1884, she was greeted by the booming of cannon and the stirring music of the Gem City band. A large crowd welcomed Commodore Davidson and Captain Asbury as the floating palace made fast to the wharf. The second *Gem City* was somewhat smaller than her predecessor, being 263 feet long, 29 feet 8 inches beam, and 5½ feet in the hold. She was a trim side-wheeler and measured 580 tons. Handsomely furnished throughout, the grand saloon was described as a marvel of splendor. She was provided with 52 large and beautiful staterooms and had accommodations for 150 first class passengers. Ample opportunity was given for a thorough inspection. The *Quincy Whig* recorded:

> She is similar in appearance to the old *Gem City* but is a trifle shorter and is narrower at the prow and the stern, making her more speedy than her fleet predecessor, one of the

[41] *Quincy Whig*, July 1, 20, 1881; June 4, 1882; *Burlington Post*, June 19, 1915; *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, Sept. 25, 1883; *Proc. Board of Supervisors, 1884*, p. 171.
[42] *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, April 20, 1884.

> fleetest boats that ever floated on the upper river. The cabin is finished throughout in pure white, with touches of gold about the trimmings, and the boat is furnished in a most elegant manner.[43]

The second *Gem City* was probably the fastest boat that ever turned a wheel on the Upper Mississippi. Pilot Hi Beedle is authority for the statement that she rarely gave her passengers more than two dinners between St. Louis and St. Paul; furthermore she frequently paid her crew off for five and a half days for the round trip. Few boats ever made this 1,400-mile run in less than a week and most of them had to be content to steam along on an eight-day schedule. In 1939 the Eagle Packet Company was running an excursion from St. Louis to St. Paul on a nine-day schedule. Captain Fred A. Bill has declared that the second *Gem City* made a number of round trips between St. Louis and St. Paul every seven days. In 1915 he recalled:

> I think she kept it up for either 13 or 15 successive trips. Her time was like clockwork. Her officers and cabin crew were uniformed—the first of that kind of thing on the river, to my knowledge. I do not remember who was her master, but James P. Boland was her mate, and responsible for much of her fast time—second of course to the pilots and engineers.[44]

The second *Gem City* ran as a St. Louis and St. Paul packet until 1889 when the company collapsed. For two years she plied for a group of St. Louis owners but in 1891 the Diamond Jo Line purchased her, together with the remaining boats, equipment, and wharfs of the old Davidson line. She was rebuilt at Dubuque in 1896 and rechristened the *Quincy*, thus becoming the fourth Upper Mississippi boat to bear that name. Following the sale of the Diamond Jo Line in 1910, the fourth *Quincy* was converted into the excursion boat *J.S.* In 1939, after fifty-five years of service the Streckfus Line dismantled the *J.S.*, thus bringing to a conclusion

[43] *Quincy Whig*, Sept. 3, 4, 5, 1884; *List of Merchant Vessels of the United States, 1892*, p. 299.

[44] *Burlington Post*, June 19, 1915.

Cabin of the Fourth *Quincy*

the story of one of the most historic old race horses of yesteryear.[45]

Since the Illinois State Historical Society has planned to visit picturesque Nauvoo this year, a few words might be said about the three steamboat namesakes of that historic town. Little is known of the first *Nauvoo*. She appears to have plied in the lead trade, making seven trips between St. Louis and Galena in 1841. The diminutive 125-ton craft was reported to have made approximately $5,000 on freight and $2,000 on passengers. The first *Nauvoo* was reported at Muscatine in 1850 and appears on W. H. Pierce's Port Byron list.[46]

A generation passed before Nauvoo could boast another namesake. Then, in 1885, the ferryboat *City of Nauvoo* was launched from the Rock Island ways. This vessel was 89 feet long, 21 feet beam, 3.6 feet depth of hold and measured 56 tons. In 1939 the *City of Nauvoo* still churns between Nauvoo and Montrose. According to government records she carries a crew of three and develops eighty horsepower. She is one of the few remaining ferries to ply the waters of the Upper Mississippi.[47]

Not content with a ferryboat namesake the *Nauvoo Rustler* in 1902 urged the Diamond Jo Line to name its new steamboat (then on the company ways at Eagle Point) after Nauvoo. The suggestion went unheeded. In 1915, however, the United States Engineers named a handsome new 285-ton towboat in honor of Nauvoo. This second *Nauvoo* was built at Grafton, Illinois. She was valued in 1918 at $35,355. Nauvoo today thus has two steamboat namesakes plying the waters of the Upper Mississippi.[48]

[45] The new boat was 264.7 feet long, 42 feet breadth of beam, 6.8 feet depth of hold, and measured 806 tons. See *Thirty-Second Annual List of Merchant Vessels of the United States, 1900* (House Doc. no. 16, 56 Cong., 2 Sess, Washington, 1900), 288; *Burlington Post*, May 18, 1918; *Allamakee Journal* [Lansing, Iowa], Dec. 28, 1938.

[46] *Sen. Docs.*, 28 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. no. 242, p. 8; *Burlington Post*, Dec. 8, 1917.

[47] *Burlington Post*, April 25, 1914; *List of Merchant Vessels of the United States, 1900* (Washington, 1900), 221.

[48] See the *Burlington Post*, April 5, 1902, quoting the *Nauvoo Rustler*. The second Nauvoo was 125.4 feet long, 31.8 feet beam, and 4 feet in depth. She underwent considerable reconstruction so that in 1930 her tonnage was set at 240 tons. Her valuation that year was placed at $31,000. See the *List of Merchant Vessels for the United States* for the years 1918 and 1930.

That the practice of naming boats after states and towns is still popular is illustrated by the fact that the Federal Barge Line has named four of its largest towboats the *Illinois*, the *Iowa*, the *Minnesota*, and the *Missouri*. In making a barge line trip in 1937 your speaker started out from St. Louis on the *Illinois*, transferred to the towboat *St. Louis* below Memphis, boarded the *Tuscaloosa* at New Orleans for Mobile, and steamed northward to Port Birmingham on the *Demopolis*. One state and three cities were honored in these modern Federal Barge Line vessels, a pretty fair sample of the popularity of place names in present-day steamboat nomenclature.

And thus we come to the conclusion of this paper on the floating namesakes of the Sucker State. Fully a hundred Upper Mississippi steamboats have borne the proud name or sobriquet either of Illinois or of the numerous towns that line the western border of the Prairie State from East St. Louis to Dunleith. In every era of steamboating—in the lead period, the immigration period, the grain period—a dozen or more boats have steamed proudly under the aegis of the State of Illinois or its ambitious river towns. Indians, fur traders, and soldiers; missionaries seeking to build a heaven here on earth, and honeymooners who had already found such a heaven; sturdy American pioneers and wandering foreigners from two score countries; these and many more have trod the pulsing decks of the floating namesakes of the Sucker State as they plowed the waters of the Great River. In the story of these boats we have mirrored the history of transportation, the evolution of marine construction and architecture, and the development of an inland empire. Through the ravages of cholera, the dangers of snags and sawyers, the hazards of the Des Moines and Rock Island rapids, have steamed such boats as the *Galena*, the *Gem City* and the *Sucker State*, the *Belle of Alton*, the *Warsaw*, and the *Savanna*, bringing their rich argosies of freight and passengers that made possible the swift settlement of the Upper Mississippi Valley.

FRANCES WILLARD AS AN ILLINOIS TEACHER

By MARY EARHART DILLON*

I. CHOOSING A CAREER

Frances Willard found choosing a career quite simple as the opportunities in 1860 for women were meager. The choice was practically between teaching and remaining at home. Although industries were open to women, the professions and the business world were, at this early date, practically closed to them. Frances was not enthusiastic about teaching but felt that it was preferable to "dependence." She quite frankly related that teaching was not what she would have chosen in life had she been able to select freely her career. But with sophistication beyond her years she added that "the next best thing is to like what one must choose."[1]

When she graduated from Northwestern Female College in 1859 she made three resolutions: to be useful in life, to be financially independent and to "grow" mentally and spiritually. This idea of growth she gleaned from the *Memoirs* of Margaret Fuller. The desire to make a contribution to her generation lingered with her throughout life, coloring her thoughts and action. About the time of her graduation from college she became quite introspective and wrote in her diary:

> In all these twenty years, although I have graduated after a fashion, I have spent four years in school. . . . I have never been out in the world, have had no care or trouble . . . to sober me. . . . I must get my discipline in a rougher school than most young ladies do. . . .

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[1] Frances Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years* (Chicago, 1889), 135.

> If I become a teacher in some school that I do not like, if I go away alone and try what I myself can do and suffer, and am tired and lonesome; if I am in a position where I must have all the responsibility myself and must be alternately the hammer that strikes and the anvil that bears, but always one of them, I think I may grow to be strong and earnest.[2]

There was also the urge for financial independence. Some eight months after graduation, therefore, she definitely decided to be a teacher.

II. THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN 1860

While discussing Frances Willard as a teacher it seems fitting to digress briefly for a survey of education in Illinois at about mid-century. The revival of the public schools in the East began with the Horace Mann experiment in the late thirties. Illinois was twenty years behind Massachusetts in providing for public education. The basic school laws in this state were passed on February 18, 1854 and February 15, 1855. But it remained for an "Act to establish and maintain a system of Free Schools" adopted by the Illinois Legislature on February 16, 1857 to eliminate obscurities in, and add details to, the earlier laws.[3] Over five hundred private schools had sprung up over the state prior to this date, developing without any supervision or regulation.[4] But with the supervised development of the public schools two-thirds of these were soon eliminated. The first Chicago high school opened in October, 1856. The first state normal school was established in September, 1857 at Bloomington. Thus by 1860 the educational system was just getting organized. After this date the public schools increased rapidly as did the need for teachers, especially women teachers. By 1890 there were 17,000 women teaching in the public schools of Illinois. At the time Frances Willard entered the profession, courses and textbooks were not standardized so that

[2] Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 139-40.

[3] *Laws of Illinois, 1854*, pp. 13-15; *Laws of 1855*, pp. 51-91; *Laws of 1857*, pp. 259-302.

[4] *Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois, 1857-58* (Springfield, 1859), 14.

the quality of teaching depended entirely upon the ingenuity and imagination of the instructor.

The importance of the teaching years of Frances Willard lay largely in the training and development she derived from them. These years, furthermore, serve to illuminate the success of much of her later work; and they give a more intimate acquaintance with her personality than any other period, probably, in her life. In a study of these years one can glimpse, also, her great ambition for achievement and her constant effort to excel in her profession. That she did excel is clearly indicated by the fact that she was an honored member of the National Education Association which she frequently addressed.

These years are also significant as revealing another facet of the woman question, for as Frances Willard struggled so did other women and as she met difficulties in the profession so did other women. Teaching was the first profession open to women, largely through the work of Horace Mann. Thus Frances Willard's teaching career has significance as a barometer in woman's professional advancement.

III. SEVEN YEARS OF TEACHING

Frances Willard never learned routine because her own schooling was sketchy and informal. It is not surprising to find therefore that the routine of teaching irked her or that she felt "tied to a bell-rope." As a means of escape she changed positions frequently only to discover, of course, that the conditions inherent in the profession prevailed whether the school was at Harlem or in Evanston. The advantage of such a nomadic teaching career, however, was that she learned new methods of teaching and broadened her contacts. From 1858, when she taught for a few weeks in the summer the country school near her home at Janesville, Wisconsin, until June, 1874 when she left the profession, Miss Willard taught in eleven institutions in six towns. Her first real position was in the grade school at Harlem. Late in the spring of 1860 she wrote to the Superintendent of Cook County public

schools, asking for a position. Due to the lateness of her inquiry, he had but one left on his list—the poorest in the county. This she readily accepted. It was only a red shanty schoolhouse, situated in a rude, black neighborhood some twelve miles from Chicago, but it offered a beginning. The place was then called Harlem, although today it is known as River Forest, a fashionable suburb of Chicago.

About twenty pupils were enrolled in the school, ranging in age from six to sixteen. At this time Harlem was a foreign district so that most of her pupils were of immigrant parents. The older boys had appropriated the province of discipline, thereby driving away former teachers. Frances Willard opened the school on the first day by reading from her little pocket Testament and singing with them Sunday School hymns. One of these songs was "I Want To Be An Angel." The incongruity of this amused even this nervous twenty-one year old teacher—the children so obviously had no interest in angels! Such an amicable beginning was misleading to the pupils who felt encouraged thereby to continue their former practices. The oldest boy, taller then Miss Willard, was the leader of this small rebellion. She caught him by the neck, jerked him out of his seat, and despite his struggles to free himself she whipped him with a stick. Being a petite young women, she must have presented a thrilling spectacle to the class. The pupils learned that although their teacher carried a Bible she was not afraid to use a stick. Nevertheless she endeavored to conquer these unruly children by enticing their interest rather than by force.

The curriculum included Botany, American History, Algebra, Arithmetic and Grammar. To stimulate their curiosity, she prepared "extra" lessons for the class to learn in concert, such as: the structure of the human body and the names of the bones; the rulers of all countries; the dissecting of flowers and naming of their parts. To enliven class exercises she had them chant the multiplication table, bound the states and name the capitals. To improve the clearness of their speech, the vowel sounds were chanted. This

FRANCES WILLARD
A portrait from an old daguerreotype
Courtesy of *Union Signal*

was one of her most amazing innovations, for the chanting of vowels is practiced today in the most advanced schools of speech. One wonders where Frances Willard learned of it in 1860! She made a specialty of map-drawing in her class because she believed that it trained the eye for accuracy and detail.

In this manner Frances Willard plunged into her work. Yet she was not happy. The chill of her surroundings, the separation from her family whom she idolized, were quite painful to her. But the children brought her flowers every day, which helped to cheer her flagging spirit and to enliven the drab classroom. In her loneliness she wrote these lines in her diary: "Alas! for me the time even now is when I must make comfort to myself out of roses and lilies instead of friends and home." Whatever spare time she had was devoted to study not only as a solace to her loneliness but because she was fully aware of her meager educational background for the career upon which she had entered. At this time she was especially interested in the Greek and Latin classics, using Bohn's translations. But nothing seemed to alleviate the dreariness of her life at Harlem. On June 25, 1860, she made the following entry in her diary:

> My head aches as badly as my heart to-night. Somehow I am afraid I can not bear it. Father came out from the City —it is only ten miles, though it seems a hundred—to bring me a bundle. I took it and turned away, saying in answer to his half cheerful, half sad words, "Keep up a brave heart and don't let it discourage you," "Good-by, father, I am not afraid," but the tears blinded me so I could hardly see to go back to my teacher's desk again, and yet the people here don't know. These rough school directors don't dream that I am not exactly in ecstacy although I am teaching in "their dees-trict."[5]

The end of the term finally came and Frances Willard returned to her beloved Evanston, having received a baptism in character building.

That autumn she took a much better position, at the Kan-

[5] Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 142.

kakee Academy, Kankakee, Illinois. This was a private institution conducted by a friend of her father's. Here she had congenial company for she was associated with a small staff of teachers and graded classes. She taught Philosophy, History, Grammar and Reading. But her first important advancement did not come until September, 1862 when she was appointed preceptress of Natural Sciences at the Northwestern Female College from which she had graduated three years earlier. The program assigned her taxed both her strength and ability. The death of her sister a few months before had so overladen her with grief as to undermine her health and her usual buoyant spirits. In her diary was this graphic account:

> Rose a little after six . . . conducted devotions in the chapel; heard advanced class in arithmetic, one in geometry, one in elementary algebra, one in Wilson's "Universal History;" . . . dined, rose from the table to take charge of an elocution class, next zoölogy, next geology, next physiology, next mineralogy, then came upstairs and sat down in my rocking-chair as one who would prefer to rise no more! Now I have to-morrow's lessons to go over.[6]

Frances Willard learned that the pathway to independence and "growth" was not easy, but she kept right on, never faltering. She possessed courage of the first water.

On January 1, 1863, Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. This great act stirred Frances Willard deeply, not only because of its far-flung moral implication but also because it appealed to her own humanitarian ambitions. When she had finished school she had written much in her diary about a "useful life" and the desire to make some contribution to her generation. The very immensity of Lincoln's Proclamation seemed to dazzle her, stirring her soul to its depths and reawakening a goal which had become somewhat obscured during the years of frantic effort to succeed as a teacher. That night she renewed her ambition and determined to redouble her efforts towards a "useful achievement."

[6] Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 171.

A few weeks later she took a position at the larger institution of the Pittsburgh Female College in Pennsylvania. Miss Willard taught here in the spring of 1863 and in the following autumn, returning to Evanston in the spring of 1864. The next two years she taught at home. But in September, 1866, she received an offer to teach in Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, at Lima, New York, one of the oldest and best schools established by the Methodist Church. This was definitely the peak in her teaching career up to this time. Yet the following summer she resigned this superior position to go to Europe for several years of study. Frances Willard's success as a teacher may be measured from the following copy of the resolution unanimously passed by the Board of Trustees of Genesee Wesleyan:

> *Resolved*, That in accepting the resignation of Miss Frances E. Willard as Preceptress in Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, we feel great pleasure in expressing our high appreciation and grateful acknowledgements for her valuable services during her connection with this institution.
>
> Hoping for a pleasant tour and safe return from her journeyings abroad, we will pray for her safety, her continued success, prosperity and happiness in any sphere of labor and usefulness she may be called to fill in the future.[7]

Frances Willard had painfully climbed the ladder from the poorest grammar school in the Cook County list to this position in one of the best seminaries of the Methodist Church. It had taken her seven years to reach this height. She had achieved financial independence and mental and spiritual growth; she had also been useful, in a fashion, although the great goal of a contribution to her generation had not yet been reached. Thus had she slowly been progressing along the lines she had staked out for herself after leaving college.

The years she spent in Europe were rich in study and development. Her life up to this time had been bound by provincialism but this she rapidly shed under the kindly atmosphere of art galleries, museums, lectures at the College de France, the mingling

[7] Willard, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, 196-97.

with cosmopolitan folk and the freer environment of European culture. She returned home in September, 1870, a charming, delightful young woman of thirty-one.

IV. PRESIDENT OF A COLLEGE

During Frances Willard's sojourn in Europe, the women of Evanston decided to organize a women's college modeled as much after Vassar as their limited finances would permit. Yet the new school, called the Evanston College for Ladies, was a unique experiment in woman's education in several ways. One such feature was the all-woman's Board of Trustees. Even Vassar could not boast of this. The Woman's Board of Trustees was a widely publicized part of the Ladies' College. It was quite natural that these Evanston women should elect as president of the new college the recently returned "home town girl."

Frances Willard for the first time in her career was in a position of leadership. Prior to the European trip her life had been one continuous struggle to advance herself and to improve her scholarship. She had more chance for self-expression in the Harlem school—as she was the only teacher there—than in any of the other schools during those seven years of struggle. Yet Harlem was her poorest position. Thus it is that Frances Willard as a teacher is best studied as the President of the Evanston College for Ladies. Here her originality had full expression so that her capacity as an educator may be measured. The best approach to her work, probably, is from the viewpoint of (1) the breaking with traditional customs; (2) new methods of teaching and administration; (3) and the introduction of novel features in the school routine.

A long list of rules was customary in most of the "female seminaries" as it was considered necessary to restrict the activities of the students. The Northwestern Female College, which Miss Willard had attended, had seventy such rules and well she remembered her rebellion against them. Now that she was a college president she decided to simplify the usual set of rules. The

first precedent she shattered was the requirement regarding church attendance. Whereas it was customary for girls to be marched to church by two's on Sunday morning—a practice which they hated —she permitted them to go as they pleased, singly or in groups. Simple and natural as this procedure appears to us today, it was a great change from tradition in 1870. The townfolk were quick to criticize such a radical departure from accepted custom.

Another precedent which she shattered concerned the rule prohibiting girls from going out alone at night. The boys of Northwestern University had invited the girls to join either of their two literary societies. These met twice a month, in the evening on the University campus, a distance of about six blocks from the Ladies' College. Young ladies did not go out alone in the evening in the seventies, but Frances Willard, nevertheless, favored the idea. She spoke to Dr. E. O. Haven, President of Northwestern University, about it. Splendid liberal that he was, he heartily agreed that the girls should be permitted this privilege. In endorsing the idea he said: "It will break down prejudice against woman's public speech and work; it will refine the young men and develop intellectual power in the girls—precisely what each class most needs." Thereafter the girls went to the literary societies alone and unchaperoned. Again, this seems a perfectly natural procedure to us today but it was considered a "dangerous experiment" in 1870. Many of the faculty and townspeople joined in condemnation of such freedom, predicting dire results. But the experiment was a success. At the end of the year President Willard happily exclaimed "how nobly they [the girls] fulfilled their trust." Thus one by one the young president scrapped outworn customs despite biting criticism.

In the administration of the College, Miss Willard also made a new approach. Calling the girls together at the beginning of the term she explained to them the uncertain position of women in education and declared that as coeducation was in an experimental stage, any misconduct on their part would react unfavorably not only on the Ladies' College but upon all women's schools closely

associated with men's universities. Then quite simply she said to them: "Now girls I place your destiny in your own hands; I confide mine to you." In this artless manner she introduced student government at the Evanston College for Ladies. It was an unusual procedure. The conservatives predicted an early failure. Today nearly all colleges have student government and it seems a far cry back to the time when it was considered a radical venture.

In addition to her administrative work as President, Frances Willard taught two classes: one in English Composition and the other on Art Appreciation. Both of these courses she made fascinating to the pupils. In the English Composition course she aroused the enthusiasm of her pupils by publishing the best essays in the class in one of the Chicago newspapers once a month. As her brother was editor of the *Chicago Mail*, this was not a difficult thing to arrange. Quite wisely she made no effort to secure literary masterpieces but used such simple subjects as "Our Museum," "Literary Exercises," "At the Public School," or "Friday Afternoon." The value of publication, of course, was in the increased interest it aroused and the spirit of rivalry which it created in the class.

The Art Appreciation course was President Willard's pride. This was her own creation which she developed out of her study during the years in Europe. While there she had collected several hundred post card copies of great paintings. Some of these she now had made into steriopticon slides so that famous paintings were studied in her class in much the same fashion as today. Art appreciation courses are offered today in most colleges, but this was distinctly a novel feature in the seventies, especially in the West. When one remembers that Jenny Lind was billed on her first American tour as the "sweet warbler," much to the amusement of Paris and London, one more easily realizes how retarded was the art consciousness of nineteenth century America. Such a course as she offered was a decided advance for her day.

Another new feature which President Willard introduced into the Ladies' College which has since become an accepted part of

Frances Willard
As she appeared in middle life

most high schools and colleges was the Assembly Hour. Each Friday afternoon the school was convened for a lecture. The purpose of such a program was to broaden the students' horizon and to give them a fresh outlook on life—one not derived from textbooks. Frequently Miss Willard herself lectured, choosing some fragment from her African sojourn such as "How I Climbed the Pyramids" or "Up the Nile." The guest speaker was usually some minister from Chicago or a noted educator. The school paper acclaimed the Assembly Hour as the most interesting feature of the week.

Another novelty she introduced was the Behavior Club which today we would call a charm club. Every girl was eligible. The purpose, as its name implies, was to teach social deportment. Conduct was criticized and distinguished women were impersonated. The club met with great favor among the girls. In fact they were heartily enthusiastic about it. This is a feature which might well be used today as the manners of many college girls could easily stand improvement. Some attention should be given to the social amenities as well as intellectual development.

This survey of Frances Willard as the President of the Evanston College for Ladies reveals her as a young teacher of great promise. The originality of her plans and the independence of her thought in addition to her continuous study marked her as excellent material for the teaching profession. When the Evanston College for Ladies united with Northwestern University in June, 1873, Frances Willard became the first Dean of Women in this institution. She also continued to teach her two special courses although now to "mixed" classes. In June, 1874, she resigned her position as Dean and this ended her teaching career. She was at this time thirty-five years old and had taught, with a few years' interruption, since she was twenty-one. These fourteen years had been one long continuous struggle toward her goal of "usefulness, independence and growth." The position of President of the Evanston College for Ladies had brought her wide reputation and prestige. Thus the long hard years had won for her a place of distinction in the field of education.

Although Frances Willard showed great promise as an educator her actual contribution to the profession was small as compared to Horace Mann, Mary Lyon or even Catherine Beecher. Yet if Miss Willard had devoted her entire life to teaching she might have made an indelible impression. She was original in her thinking and keenly imaginative in her teaching, continually introducing new subjects and making a fresh approach to old ones. She possessed a keen mind but one designed especially for viewing broad horizons of intellectual thought rather than a mind bent toward analytical study. Her mind seemed almost photographic in the number and variety of ideas she absorbed. She was interested in labor problems, in socialism, in welfare work, in peace and arbitration, in a broader field for women, in relief to the persecuted Armenians, and an almost endless number of other projects. The very breadth of her interest prevented thorough scholarship but it did make her an interesting and colorful individual.

Her personality was one of her greatest assets as a teacher. Her students idolized her and this greatly increased her influence over them. She was deeply interested in her students, endeavoring to inspire each of them to live a "useful" life. Her comradeship with them was one of the most charming phases of her work as a teacher and probably one of its most important phases. In summary it may be said that Frances Willard was one of the most advanced women teachers in Illinois in her day. She was a significant leader in woman's education in the Northwest during that awkward period between the Woman's College and coeducation.

THE UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH IN ILLINOIS

By LYNN W. TURNER*

The process of turning a wilderness into a civilization is the theme of American history. On its physical side, the saga has been oft repeated because it vibrates with elemental heroism. Undaunted humanity pitted against remorseless nature is a subject to inspire any pen, but the ant hill activity which succeeds that struggle seems dull by contrast. The historian is puzzled by the question of whether social forces are operative or merely accumulative, and particularly is this true of one who studies the history of churches in Illinois. Whatever may have been the impelling motives for the settlement of our state—overcrowding or lack of economic opportunity at home, thirst for adventure, or just plain restlessness—it is certain that few people expected to find on the Illinois prairies a closer walk with God than could have been experienced back East. Refugees from religious persecution were a negligible element in our pioneer stream, and with such numerically unimportant exceptions as the Latter Day Saints, few people sought to build up Zion within our wilderness. The pioneer came first, the church afterward—sometimes long afterward. The appearance of a preacher in an early Illinois community was evidence that civilization had taken root; the building of a church meant cultural maturity.

The religious history of Illinois differs radically from that of an area like Massachusetts with its early solid Congregationalism. It resembles more the commercial invasion of Asia by the European powers; here the Methodists established a fortified post

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commanding a promising hinterland; there the Baptists arrived first and seized the territory in the name of their King; in another area the Lutheran missionaries followed intrepid Swedish explorers into virgin Scandinavian soil. But sooner or later, the shock troops of all these groups met and battled for the same souls and the result of this carnage is the typical Illinois town, with a different kind of church on each corner.

On some corners in certain towns, the Sunday joy rider may drive past slowly enough to read the name "United Brethren in Christ" on the church, and idly wonder what sort of strange creature inhabits the inside. Even in this audience, the name is likely to suggest a confusion of small and perhaps esoteric sects rather than the plain, simple creed and people to which it belongs. The easiest way to explain the origin of this church is to say that it played the same role among the German-speaking Americans of the late eighteenth century that Methodism did among the English-speaking people. There are marked similarities in the lives of John Wesley and Philip William Otterbein, the founder of the United Brethren Church, though the latter achieved success in his adopted rather than in his native land. Like Wesley, Otterbein was well educated—in the German Reformed school at Herborn in Nassau.[1] In 1752 he followed Wesley's example by coming as a missionary to America. His work among the Germans in Pennsylvania proved to be more congenial to him than had Wesley's in Georgia sixteen years earlier, although both young men aroused opposition by the exaggerated severity with which they rebuked sin among their parishioners. But their chief similarity was spiritual, in the dissatisfaction which each felt with the lifeless formalism and religious apathy in the established churches of his day. It was a revolutionary epoch, and religious revolt coincided with political rebellion. At about the same time that John Dickinson was arousing the seaboard to the tyranny of revenue duties, Otterbein, concerned with the more ancient and universal tyranny of

[1] Daniel Berger, *History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, Ohio, 1897), 26 ff.

the devil, found among the lowly Mennonites a companion who was to enlist with him in the long war for the liberty of the soul. This man, Martin Boehm, was preaching in a Lancaster County, Pennsylvania barn, at a "grosse versammlung" of the thrifty German farmers which Otterbein chanced to attend. As the small, quick Mennonite farmer preached with untutored eloquence and burning zeal, he kindled flames in the heart of his scholarly, imposing auditor. Otterbein rose impulsively, threw his arms around the smaller man and exclaimed, "Wir sind Brüder."[2] Thus, according to well-authenticated tradition, was born the United Brethren Church, and thus was it named and dedicated.

The War for Independence gave even the phlegmatic Germans something besides religion and farms to think about for the next ten years. When peace came, war on the religious front could be resumed, and Otterbein soon commanded a corps of enthusiastic young converts who carried his gospel far and wide throughout the great Appalachian Valley. Otterbein, again like Wesley, remained within the church of his fathers until his death, but long before that time the United Brethren had formed themselves into a separate body. Although they came originally from many sources—Mennonite, German Reformed, Moravian, and Lutheran —"Die Vereinigten Brüder" were united by their conviction that the older churches had lost the apostolic benediction and lapsed into the sinful formalism of the scribes and Pharisees in which there was no salvation. Fervid evangelism, simple piety, and stern morals constituted their way of life; their creed was Arminian and exceedingly democratic.[3] Like the nation, the church was born to the union of freedom and democracy; like the nation, it grew up on the frontier.

From its place of origin in the Susquehanna Valley, the United Brethren Church spread westward as the sons and daughters of the Pennsylvania Dutch trooped across the mountains. By the

[2] A. W. Drury, *The Life of Rev. Philip William Otterbein* (Dayton, 1884), 139.

[3] The first "Confession of Faith," adopted in 1789, is printed in the original German in Berger, *United Brethren*, 139. Otterbein's own congregation in Baltimore had specifically repudiated the doctrine of predestination in 1785.

late twenties, German families from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana were moving into Illinois. United Brethren missionaries soon followed them. The church was still primarily German when it reached this state and confined its early attention to German families. Until 1837, the Discipline was printed in German, with an English translation. But even the German families, moving in single units rather than in groups, and mingling with every other stream of migration on the frontier, lost their stubborn Pennsylvania provincialism and became Americanized. It was long customary in Illinois for Methodist and United Brethren ministers to co-operate very cordially and to hold joint revival services in German districts.[4] English-speaking converts joined the Methodist Church, German-speaking the United Brethren. So similar were the groups that the Brethren were long called "Dutch Methodists" by their irreverent neighbors, and possibly only the language difference prevented an early coalescence of the two groups. United Brethren adapted the itinerant system and the camp meeting from the Methodists. They even exceeded their English friends in democracy by allowing women to occupy their pulpits, and before the end of the century, by adopting lay delegation in church conferences. But exclusive concern with German people and the use of the German language handicapped the early church; not until these restrictions were transcended did the church grow rapidly.

Evidence as to when a United Brethren missionary first entered Illinois is lacking, but the church accepts 1830 as the date for the organization of the first class. In that year four United Brethren pioneers, Jesse and Rebecca Havens and Jacob and Sarah Moats met in the latter's log cabin near the present village of Towanda, and organized the Money Creek class.[5] The group prospered and became the nucleus for extensive United Brethren enterprise in McLean and adjoining counties. But the original quartet at Money Creek had been visited and counseled before

[4] Berger, *United Brethren*, 187-91.

[5] *Illinois Conference Minutes, Eighty-Fifth Annual Session*, 1930 (Decatur, Ill.), 56.

1830 by itinerant missionaries. No record is preserved of these nameless heroes, but by 1831 John Denham and Joseph Williams reported salaries from the Iroquois and Illinois circuits respectively.[6] A little later, a class was organized at Westfield. In 1835, the church created the Wabash Conference, beginning in the Wabash Valley, and extending westward to the horizon, as a sort of county palatine, charged with the responsibility of organizing and consolidating victory on the frontier. Itinerants were sent into the Embarrass, Kankakee, Sangamon, Spoon River, and Rock River valleys. Soon ten ministers were employed in Illinois while the restless John Denham was already pushing on into the West. These men were typical circuit riders, a part of the rough backwoods civilization of the thirties, simple in their lives, epic in their achievements. Unluckily, none of them left behind any such fascinating record of his adventures as did Peter Cartwright, but one, in a letter which has come down to us, gives a description of his experiences which will serve as an illustration of their common lot. He wrote:

> A few evenings ago, while sitting by my fireside, looking forward to the labor and exposure, and privation which I must endure during the conference year which has just commenced, my mind was carried back to the past; whereupon I hunted up my old diary, by the aid of which I reached the following facts and conclusions: That I have been an itinerant minister in the church of the United Brethren in Christ sixteen years; that I have traveled for ministerial purposes fifty-four thousand two hundred miles; that I have preached (or tried to preach) five thousand one hundred and ten sermons; that I have received as an earthly remuneration $652.00; *that the Lord has hitherto helped me; and that it would be wickedness to distrust so good a friend in time to come.*
>
> My time has been spent chiefly on the frontiers, among poor people; and, could I lead some of my rich brethren along the Indian trails, or more dimly-beaten paths, to the cabins in the woods, and introduce them to meanly-clad parents, sur-

[6] J. B. Connett, "Historical Matter for the History of the United Brethren Church in the State of Illinois" (MS fragment in the possession of the Rev. Sarah Bowman, Illinois Conference historian).

> rounded by almost naked children, and let them worship and mingle their prayers, songs, and tears around the same altar, they too would love those poor brethren, excuse their scanty contributions, and of their abundance give something for the support of the missionary, who, perhaps, with ragged clothes and naked knees (for I have preached with naked knees) is preaching on the frontiers.[7]

By 1845, the United Brethren Church in Illinois had outgrown its purely pioneer stage and entered upon that intermediate, adolescent, awkward age which always involves embarrassment, internal struggle and difficult readjustments. The Wabash Conference underwent mitosis in 1845, and produced the Illinois Conference to cover the northern part of the state and stretch into Wisconsin. Further rapid cell division produced six conferences, wholly or partially within the state, by 1871. Churches, as well as states, are social organisms, and they tend to follow the patterns which are familiar to the people among whom they have their being. The pioneer fringe of the church, like that of the community at large, depended upon the organized area behind it for support and protection, and in turn was attached to, and subordinate to it in government. The areal church, like the state, went through a territorial stage of development, and seemed equally eager—and with as little justification in many cases—to arrive at that stage of autonomy and equality in which it might become a separate conference. However, it is interesting to note that the early church fathers paid scant attention to state or political boundaries in laying out their conferences. This excessive localism was an index to the optimistic enthusiasm of the missionaries, the large and genuine growth of the church and the scarcity of transportation facilities. The total membership of the six conferences in 1871 was less than that of a single conference in the church today. Fewer than a thousand members were considered adequate basis for separate conference organization; it was not membership so much as distance that dictated this necessity.

[7] Quoted in John Lawrence, *The History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, 1895), II: 275-76.

Even though he was accustomed to a life in the saddle, an itinerant could not be expected to ride long distances to annual conferences; and the primitive canals and railroads of the fifties did little to lessen the problem of travel for a rural church. Thus there was a tendency to make conferences as small and compact, in a very relative sense, as possible. In 1853, the northern part of the Illinois Conference separated to form the Rock Island Conference, and gave birth, in turn, to the Wisconsin Conference five years later. What remained of the Illinois Conference divided along the line of the Illinois River in 1865. Meanwhile, in 1857, the Wabash Conference split into an upper and a lower half, and the Lower Wabash mothered a Southern Illinois Missionary Conference in Egypt in 1871.

The church historian has the complete minutes for only one of these six bodies—the Rock River Conference in northern Illinois which began its separate history in 1853—and for this reason alone it is convenient to draw illustrative material from its history. Between 1855 and 1876 this Conference doubled its membership and increased the number of church buildings from four to twenty-four, while the average salary of its itinerants grew from $77.56 per year to $392.07.[8] The church was passing from what might be called the homestead stage to the village community stage. Virtually every one of the early congregations originated as a purely rural body, in a farmhouse, a barn, a crossroads schoolhouse. Long before a class was permanently organized, a small group of devout United Brethren exiles might gather for mutual religious assurance and the occasional visit of a missionary. These meetings eventually crystallized into a regularly organized class, which might arrange for Sabbath meetings in a schoolhouse. The original Money Creek church began in this fashion. Thus preaching began in the neighborhood of Saybrook in the 1830's; then a class was organized in 1857 and met in a schoolhouse, a mile and a quarter outside the town, until 1866. The Elliott church began in the farm home of a United Brethren emigrant from Virginia; the

[8] Minutes of the Rock River Annual Conference, 1853-1876 (MSS in the possession of the Illinois Conference historian), 440-41.

Alexis church in a camp meeting revival in the woods, three miles from the present town.[9] The story is repeated for every locality in the state. The growth of village and town life was destined to modify this strictly Arcadian idyl. During the sixties and seventies, Illinois began to be covered by her railway network, and everywhere along these steel lines, like ganglia, there grew up towns and villages. Many a church was lured from its place in the wildwood by these promising centers of population. A United Brethren congregation bought one of the original lots in Alexis in 1871.[10] Lexington was invaded in 1854, Saybrook in 1866, Elliott in 1872. Many a village church prospered and organized daughter congregations in the rural territory from which it had removed, until it resembled a mother hen with her brood. Saybrook had three rural offspring by 1880; Elliott also fostered a country trio.

Church organization was modified by these changing conditions. The itinerant was still the backbone of each Conference, but his work was becoming less missionizing and more pastoral. Much of his time was still spent on horseback, but his circuit was growing smaller, with fewer appointments, while his congregations were growing larger. Small frame meetinghouses, with separate entrances for men and women and sometimes a partition down the middle aisle to separate the sexes further, were growing up to replace the barn loft and the wood lot as the scene of his labors. Nevertheless, he still regarded himself as a militant crusader on scout duty, so to speak, expecting frontier hardships, accustomed to render obedience to superiors and willing to go wherever the fight seemed hottest. He was responsible to the Annual Conference for his work and he was assigned to it in arbitrary fashion by an elected committee of his fellows consulting with the bishop of the area. There was a ruling in the Discipline as late as 1885 which prohibited a term of service greater than three years on any one circuit, and this, unlike most rules, seemed

[9] These facts are recorded in manuscript local church histories, collected by the Conference historian.

[10] *Alexis Argus*, Aug. 29, 1929.

to be well observed.[11] Alexis had thirty-eight pastors in the first seventy years of its history. Each itinerant was appointed to a field of labor variously called a circuit or a mission, usually consisting of a rather large number of appointments which he was expected to visit regularly. A few of these might be no more than informal groups who gathered to listen to his preaching; the others would be regularly organized classes, with a local class leader, a steward, a membership roll and the other appurtenances of a permanent body.

The smallest unit of government within the church was the Quarterly Conference, consisting of certain officers from each of the various classes on a circuit.[12] This body met four times a year under the chairmanship of the presiding elder, or conference superintendent, and dealt with certain legal, fiscal and disciplinary matters. A good deal of its time was spent in examining the characters of the members and keeping them in the straight and narrow path. Brother Beasley of Lexington incurred the wrath of his Quarterly Conference in 1893 by betting on the presidential election. Whether Cleveland or Harrison received the benefit of his money is not recorded, but the unfortunate brother was throughly repentant and received a vote of reconciliation from his fellows.[13] Presiding elders were elected by the Annual Conference, and there might be one or more for each Conference. Their duties were supervisory to a large extent; they constantly visited the itinerants in their circuits and missions, preached for them, encouraged them and stimulated them to greater achievement.

The Annual Conference consisted of the itinerants of a certain district, the presiding elder or elders, and the bishop of the area. The bishop's area might consist of six to a dozen Annual Conferences. The Annual Conference afforded a well-deserved social opportunity for men of like interests and enthusiasms to

[11] *Discipline of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, 1885), 67.
[12] This sketch of church organization is derived from the *Discipline* of 1885.
[13] Minutes of Lexington Quarterly Conference, 1893 (MS in possession of the Lexington United Brethren Church).

exchange views and exhort one another to greater work; it had the more serious duty of checking the work of each preacher during the preceding year, of punishing those who had been remiss, of laying plans for the next year, of keeping the ranks of the itineracy filled, and of making the assignments to each field of labor. The Annual Conference met from year to year in different churches within its bounds. It furnished the chief occasion on which a humble minister from a backwoods community could really feel himself part of a great movement which communicated strength of organization and wideflung interests to his tiny parish. The organization of the church pyramided into the General Conference in which was vested final authority. In 1841, the General Conference had adopted a constitution which served the church as a frame of government and a fundamental law until it was recast in 1889. According to this constitution, the General Conference met quadrennially, its members being delegates elected by each of the Annual Conferences plus the bishops who acted as presiding officers.[14] The General Conference elected bishops, created Annual Conferences, acted as the highest court in disciplinary trials, determined the Discipline and the Confession of Faith, supervised general business interests and acted as the ultimate depository of legislative, executive and judicial power in the church. These Conferences, like the smaller annual meetings, were peripatetic, and by 1877 Illinois was considered sufficiently civilized to entertain the august assemblage, which met at Westfield.

The United Brethren Church had its adherents, for the most part, among humble people, and consequently it was neither so insistent upon an educated ministry as the Presbyterian bodies, nor so indifferent to it as the Mennonites. None of the earlier preachers, except Otterbein, had been college men, but that of course does not argue that they were uneducated. The greatest single qualification for the ministry was a call from God to that task; training might come later, and indeed was expected to come in due course of time. A young man who felt the call to the min-

[14] Berger, *United Brethren*, 269-70.

istry usually began his career immediately by enlisting as an exhorter, a capacity in which he practiced upon his own neighbors. After testing his calling by this experience, he applied to his Quarterly Conference for a license to preach; if it was granted he would frequently fill the local pulpit on those meeting days when the itinerant was not scheduled to appear. At this point, the young licentiate was expected to begin a standardized process of self-education by following a three-year course of study, made out and prescribed by the general church officers. A year's activity as a Quarterly Conference preacher qualified him for application to the Annual Conference where he might be admitted by examination and vote of the Conference. For a time, he would probably be given a local appointment; that is, stationed as a sort of assistant pastor at one of the appointments on an itinerant's charge. The Annual Conference now took charge of his progress in the reading course and he appeared each year before an examining committee. Sometimes there was little difference between examiners and examined except in age and experience, and reports of the examining boards are very amusing. A candidate in the Rock River Conference in 1856 was "clear on Doctornal points and Essay But deficient in Grammar and Geography." By 1873, they probably were better prepared:

> [One applicant] answered all the Disciplinary questions with promptness, and to the satisfaction of the Committee, quoting ample Scripture passages to authenticate each particular question. In the opinion of the committee he is sound in doctrine and warmly attached to our Church and government. He also read to us a short sermon on repentance pretty well gotten up in a hasty moment. We therefore cheerfully recommend his passage to the second year's course of reading.[15]

At the conclusion of his reading course, or sometimes by a special dispensation before that time, the licentiate would be enrolled among the itinerants and given a circuit. There only remained then a final step in order for him to reach adult stature

[15] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 1853-1876, pp. 35, 360.

as a preacher. This was to become an elder of the church by ordination at the hands of the bishop, who represented the apostolic succession from Father Otterbein himself. Every Annual Conference reached an impressive, spiritual climax on Sunday morning when one or more earnest young men received the mantle of succession by the laying on of hands and became thenceforth peculiarly sanctified to the arduous work of the ministry.

Gradually and subtly the tempo of the times brought about another change in the minister's business. Three decades after the Civil War, the United Brethren preacher found that he was no longer a simple circuit rider, a single-minded fisher of men, a harvester of souls. He was rather the local agent of a highly organized and increasingly complex organization which was seeking to manage a large vested property with profit, to open up branch offices, so to speak, in distant parts of the globe, to enroll a constantly increasing list of customers, and to guide the destiny of these consumers from cradle to grave, not only by preaching to them but by educating, entertaining, propagandizing and supervising them. In 1834, the frontier minister's only duty toward the frontiersman was to save his soul and then to wring from him enough small change or produce to stave off starvation. But the United Brethren Church established a publishing house in 1834 and then the itinerant had to carry books in his saddlebags and sell subscriptions for *The Religious Telescope* to his converts. On a frontier chronically short of cash, book selling was a difficult business and high-pressure techniques had to be developed. The Rock River Conference in 1855 resolved "that we will double our subscriptions the ensueing year for all our periodicals."[16] Subsequent resolutions indicated the Utopian quality of this one; they extolled the usefulness, desirability and orthodoxy of the literature, but constantly admitted that not as much of it had been purchased as should have been. In 1853, the Home, Frontier and Foreign Missionary Board was organized and immediately began to solicit funds. Its work was highly beneficial to frontier conferences

[16] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 19.

which through it received financial aid from their wealthier brethren in the East. Nevertheless, they were expected to provide some self-help, and as they grew older the frontier moved to Kansas and Oregon where the missions, in turn, expected subsidies from Illinois. Missions were later established in Germany and Africa, and the home conferences were assessed to meet their expenses. There was never any grumbling from the Illinois Conference about their assessments, but there was constant struggle with the problem of meeting them. Various expedients were adopted, ranging from the "Canada Plan" which involved the sound psychological principle of employing charming young ladies as collectors, to the desperate alternative of assessing each preacher $5.00 of his small salary and depriving him of his charge if he did not pay.[17]

The spread of the Sunday School movement added another task to the preacher's responsibilities. Denominational colleges demanded his support and active agency. A Church Erection Board added another collection item in 1870, a theological seminary in the following year. By 1876, ministers were assigned definite sums in eight different funds to collect from each appointment; and circuits were being rated on their financial standing rather than on their evangelistic fervor. The itinerant of 1830 needed only to be an eloquent and forceful preacher—a voice crying in the wilderness; by the end of the century he had to be an able business man, a temple priest, a ruler in Israel.

The United Brethren of Illinois were inspired to those lofty ambitions in the field of education which are familiar to any church historian. The first log meetinghouses had hardly been erected before plans were afoot for colleges in every Conference. The churches of northern Illinois projected an academy at Blandinsville, but it failed to prosper and the Rock Island Conference shifted its allegiance to Western College in Iowa. In the meantime, a seminary at Westfield had been raised to college status by 1865 and thenceforth received the support of the Conferences in

[17] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 154.

southern Illinois and western Indiana.[18] Neither Western nor Westfield was destined to survive to the present time, and it is now a subject of at least sentimental regret that Illinois youth must go to Indiana for a United Brethren education. The college at Westfield suffered most from its unfortunate location. The town has no rail connections even to this day, and until ten years ago, it was even a perilous journey to reach it by road in an automobile. Survival in a modern age under such a handicap was impossible, and the college failed to rebuild after a disastrous fire in 1917.

In spite of these evidences of change, even of progress, the church did not advance as rapidly in this period as its opportunities and the general development of the state would have warranted. The chief deterrent to growth was a paralyzing provincialism which has always clung to the church. Although it had outgrown its exclusive devotion to the German people and language, other vestigia of eighteenth century folkways remained to alienate it from a modern world. Yet, alongside these survivals of an earlier moral code, the church adopted standards which marked it as more progressive than its sister communions in many a way. So indeed was this transitional period one of adolescence for the church, full of inconsistencies, adorned with unexpected heroisms and marred by surprising intolerances.

Descended directly from the eighteenth century peasant community spirit was the conviction that bearing one another's burdens was a deep moral and personal responsibility. Quarterly Conferences inquired into the day-by-day conduct of every member of the church, and dealt heavily with major offenders. Itinerants were examined at the Annual Conference, not only as to the success of their year's work but as to the purity of their year's behavior. Nor were these inquisitions mere formalities; they were pursued with relentless loving-kindness and a grim sense of duty. It is only fair to say that, although the inquisition was active and persistent, it was just, and scrupulous care was taken

[18] Berger, *United Brethren*, 501.

to allow a fair hearing and a full defense. Punishment ranged from admonitions for such misdeeds as horse trading to expulsion from the church for moral turpitude, but such punishment was always administered by a full vote of the Conference after a complete airing of the case, and only in a few cases does the action taken seem unfair to a modern reader. In 1874, for the first time, all the preachers of the Rock River Conference passed the examination of character without blot or stain. The inquisition had justified its *raison d'etre* by stamping out evil, or else the clean slate should be interpreted as evidence of modernist relaxation.

A church which exercised such scrupulous care over the morals of its own flock might be expected to take an advanced stand on general moral issues. In spite of its German heritage, the United Brethren Church declared war against distilleries as early as 1821. Illinois Conferences followed the lead of the parent body on this question, but seemed only incidentally concerned with it until after the Civil War. Beginning in 1868, however, the Rock River Conference adopted annual temperance resolutions which constantly increased in bitterness and pugnacity. The attack shifted from plain liquor to the liquor traffic in 1871, and thenceforth promised support for any and all restrictive legislation. Tobacco, however, seemed to be a different matter, and the reformers fought a long, uphill battle before they were strong enough to get it listed in the category of sins. In 1856, the best they could do was to force through a resolution in Rock River "that there be no chewing of tobacco or spitting on the floor during the sitting of this conference." For two successive decades they pleaded with ministers to forego the noxious weed. By 1871, the Conference was able to announce that tobacco was foresworn by most ministers "and to those brethren who are its slaves, we humbly beseech them, by the Grace of God, to leave it off as a beverage; and if used at all, only as a medicine. Show thyself pure in habit as well as in doctrine." Total abstinence was achieved in 1872. The list of human customs which met with official disapproval lengthened as the opportunities for sin increased in a complex society. Sabbath-

breaking, profanity, gambling, billiards, horse racing, dancing and social drinking came in for condemnation, which is not surprising. But the moral reform committees ranged further afield and thundered against the "so-called county agricultural fairs" which "as conducted of late in this country are unworthy the patronage of Christians," against "the mania for the national game of baseball which is proving injurious to the cause of Christ," against "corrupt literature, such as novels and the *New York Ledger*," and even darkly against "the sin of infanticide, which evidently prevails to an alarming degree."[19]

On the church-splitting issue of negro slavery, the United Brethren denomination has a better record than many other churches. The General Conference of 1821 not only condemned the institution of slavery but incorporated in the Discipline a rule that "all slavery, in every sense of the word, be totally prohibited and in no way tolerated in our community." The rule was implemented by provisions that members already holding slaves should manumit them in states where it was legally possible to do so, and should be compensated by their fellow church members. In no case should a member sell a slave. It was easier for the United Brethren to adopt such a ruling in 1821, than it would have been for the Methodists, since the church, as yet chiefly German, had penetrated only a short distance into the slave-holding South, and the southern members were generally not wealthy enough to own many slaves. Yet, the earliest stronghold of the church had been the Appalachian Valley, in Maryland and Virginia as well as Pennsylvania, and the work had spread westward into Kentucky and Tennessee. It required courage to legislate thus definitely in 1821 and it resulted in some hardship among southern members. The rule certainly prevented the further spread of the church into the South, but it also prevented a church split over the slavery issue and preserved the original church intact even through the embarrassments of the Civil War when a Virginia bishop[20] endured

[19] See Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 29, 313, 376; Berger, *United Brethren*, 247-48.

[20] Bishop J. J. Glosbrenner. He presided over the Illinois Conferences in 1853-1857, and 1873-1877.

many a hardship going back and forth through the picket lines.

The Illinois Conferences had no reason to rebel against the general policy of the church in the matter of slavery, and each of them reaffirmed that stand. The Rock River Conference adopted a resolution for using its influence against slavery in 1854, the year after it was organized. However, there is no evidence that the church was radically abolitionist; in fact, the records are filled with other exciting controversies in the fifties, almost to the exclusion of the slavery question. Even the outbreak of the Civil War went unnoticed. It was not until the autumn of 1862, that the Rock River Conference noticed the war officially; and then it was to indorse "the President's Emancipation Bill" which had been issued five days previously. From that point, however, the ministers caught the crusading spirit of the later war years, and became violently patriotic. In 1864 they required every member to swear loyalty to the administration, endorse the Emancipation Proclamation, and register his approval of all the means which were being taken to crush the rebellion. Copperheads were not to be tolerated. As a successful conclusion of the war became more certain, the church interested itself deeply in the fate of the freedmen and those negroes who were yet slaves. The Rock River Conference asked the Mission Board in 1863 to devote a portion of its contribution to work among the freedmen. In 1864 they demanded that the principles of the Emancipation Proclamation be extended to all parts of the country. When the Conference of 1865 met in October, the war was over, Lincoln had been assassinated and the Thirteenth Amendment lacked only a few votes of ratification. In the light of these stirring events, it is interesting to read the ministers' resolutions—for their smug assumptions as well as their fervid gratitude, for their interpretation of the past as well as their will for the future. President Lincoln was not mentioned.

> Whereas, It has pleased Almighty God in his wise providence to answer our petitions thus stopping rivers of fraternal blood, uniting parents and children, breaking the galling chain of Slavery— as also driving rebellion, conspiracy, and Traitor-

ism from our hitherto happy America, and giving peace and prosperity unto us in their stead; Therefore, Resolved, That we render the gratitude of our heart unto him who has carefully presided over the destiny of our nation thus far, and that in the future we will adore his name, petition his guidance, implore his wisdom and continually seek his watchcare over us as a Christian nation.

Whereas, The Bible is the admitted standard of right & wrong; and, whereas, there is in it no command which justifies one man in taking from another life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, Thus taking from him his elective franchise; Therefore, Resolved, That in the absence of such positive command, it is unscriptural to withhold the right of suffrage from the colored man. 2nd. That we will use all lawful endeavors, to secure him his right, and to place him on an equality with the rest of mankind in our courts of law.

The incipient intolerance of this resolution came to full flower in 1866 when the Conference bitterly denounced the Johnson administration, presumably for its lenience with the South, endorsed the Fourteenth Amendment and insisted upon the disfranchisement of "those men whose hands are red with the blood of our brothers, and whose labors have been to destroy our Government."[21]

The church was culpable in thus allowing the passions of war time to becloud the issues of peace. If church leaders are not to practice Christian forbearance toward the vanquished, how can we expect the problem of post-war bitterness and reaction ever to be solved? The church was likewise guilty, in this post-war period, of wasting its time and energy on relatively trivial matters when the most difficult problems of social and economic readjustment required its gravest consideration. There was no constructive thinking on the reconstruction policy—nothing but the quaint argument for negro suffrage quoted above. Social and economic problems in Illinois might not have existed for all the evidence that one can find of them in Conference minutes. The United Brethren people were nearly all farmers, yet there is no discussion

[21] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 170-72, 191-92.

of agrarian problems, or even an indication that there were problems. The only notice which the church took of the Patrons of Husbandry was to forbid United Brethren membership in it because of a prejudice against secret societies. In 1874, in the midst of the bitter struggle between Grangers and the railroads over enforcement of the regulatory legislation passed in the previous year, Rock River ministers accepted with gratitude an eighty per cent reduction in their fares on the Illinois Central and Burlington railroads.

But the most fatal handicap to the church in these years was its fanatical stand against secret societies. In the days of the Anti-Masonic Party, the United Brethren Church had adopted a strict rule against secret organizations. Such an attitude was popular in the thirties but when America became a nation of joiners in the lush post-war era, United Brethren clung to their ancient prejudices and viewed the movement with alarm. The constitution of 1841 included a forthright prohibition of membership in any secret society, and in 1861 the General Conference decreed that such membership constituted an immorality. The Illinois Conference tended to outdo even the General Conference in fanaticism on this question. Rock River, in 1858, voted to add these questions to the inquisition of each preacher:

1. Do you belong to any secret society?
2. Do you know of any person within the bounds of your work who belongs to a secret society?
3. Have you knowingly admitted any members during the past year who belong to a secret society?[22]

In 1862, the Conference professed to believe that secret combinations exercised nefarious influence over the national government and vaguely attributed the disasters of the war to their machinations. Preachers who joined a Masonic Lodge were ruthlessly expelled, and one unfortunate brother who merely participated in a funeral at which Masonic rites were used felt the wrath of the Conference descend upon him. After the war, this obses-

[22] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 54, 382; Berger, *United Brethren*, 308.

sion became ridiculous. In spite of sympathy for the freedman, membership in a Union League was declared unlawful; in spite of the official condemnation of the liquor traffic, ministers were warned to shun the Sons of Temperance. Preachers were forced to withdraw even from the Patrons of Husbandry under threat of expulsion from the Conference. Rock River elected a delegate to a "National Convention of Christians Opposed to Secret Societies" which met in Cincinnati in 1870; at the same time the Conference found it difficult to persuade a duly elected trustee to travel the hundred-odd miles to the annual meeting at Western College. Nor was this enthusiasm for open covenants confined entirely to ministers, as many petitions from local congregations to the Conference on the subject testify.[23] Rock River attained a veritable hysteria of opposition in 1876 when it established a periodical devoted to anti-secrecy propaganda, paid the expenses of a delegate to the National Christian Association convention at Pittsburgh and resolved to observe a national day of fasting and prayer on the subject—all with the avowed purpose of "sweeping the dark shadows from our land."

It is quite understandable that such an attitude would strike many outsiders as fanaticism and cause them to hold the church in contempt. In an age when the normal American was sublimating his desire for clannishness and regimentation by joining as many secret orders as possible, the United Brethren constitution and policy became the strongest kind of inhibition to growth. (The Rock River Conference, for example, actually declined in membership between 1867 and 1888 and its all-purpose budget shrank from $19,000 to $11,000.)[24] Many a venerable member of the church at the present time ruefully admits that the church lost innumerable opportunities for expansion in those day of anti-secrecy. Many a member at that time grasped the situation and desired a change in policy, but the radicals, as the anti-secretists

[23] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 223.

[24] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 1889-1900 (MSS in possession of Illinois Conference historian), 7-11. These papers also contain the statistical reports for 1887 and 1888.

were called, maintained a majority and guarded the principles of the fathers with aggressive care. Efforts on the part of an increasing number of liberal members to modify the harshness of the rule only excited the radicals to further extremes of fanaticism. A state Christian Association was formed, then a United Brethren Association Opposed to Secret Societies, and the state was flooded with periodicals devoted entirely to this sterile propaganda. It may have been the influence of contemporary political events that caused these ultra-reactionaries to be called the Radical Party; at any rate they adopted the mumbo-jumbo of political radicalism in calling the reformers' efforts "nullification," "disloyalty" and "rebellion."[25] Such revilings came with particular ill-grace from people who were allowing their obsession to corrupt their loyalty, for they criticized the insufficiently drastic tone of the church organ, *The Religious Telescope*, and they almost withdrew their support from Western College when that institution innocently conferred an honorary degree upon a Free Mason. Much of this emotional fervor was stimulated by Bishop Milton Wright who presided over the Rock River Conference for four years between 1877 and 1881, and who was intensely zealous against secret societies. His single-minded insistence upon a cause of limited merit was an irritant which caused the four years of his administration to be more contentious and fratricidal than any equal period in the history of the Rock River Conference.

Such excesses created their own reaction in the church itself, and a movement toward moderation gained headway steadily after 1880. The Liberals controlled the General Conference of 1885 and created a Commission which made a general revision of the constitution and emasculated the rule against secrecy. The revised constitution was submitted to the entire membership of the church in 1888, and ratified by a fourteen to one vote, after which it was officially promulgated at the General Conference of 1889. The adoption of the new constitution was followed by a

[25] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 1877-1888 (MSS in possession of Illinois Conference historian), 45-46.

secession of the radicals. Fifteen delegates stalked solemnly out of the Opera House in York, Pennsylvania, where the Conference was meeting, marched to a rival Opera House and proceeded solemnly with the business of the Conference, assuming that they were the sole representatives of the true United Brethren Church. Thus did the United Brethren Church meet the fate which has come to all Protestant churches lively enough to grapple with a thorny problem. The so-called Radical Church still exists although at its beginning it carried only about one-twentieth of the general membership with it. Among the fifteen seceders in York was the delegate of the Rock River Conference. Their leader and bishop was Milton Wright who settled in Dayton, Ohio, where his two sons grew up to fly the first airplane fourteen years later.

The walkout of 1889 was a hard blow to the United Brethren Church in Illinois. Most of the ministers in the state had been on the radical side, even though the laymen were more liberal. Nearly all of the preachers in the southern and central conferences, however, swallowed their prejudices and swore allegiance to the new constitution. Rock River was more resistant. Half of the ministers in this area, including some of the highest leaders, failed to respond to roll call in the fall of 1889. They carried with them into the Radical Church at least a third of the lay membership of the Conference.[26]

The Radicals soon brought suit before the Circuit Court for title to the church buildings in Livingston County. When the church won this case, the Radicals carried an appeal to the Supreme Court which confirmed the decree in 1895, thus saving to the church all of its property in Illinois.[27] Five other state supreme courts rendered similar decision. Even though church buildings were retained, some went empty for a time, and the years after 1889 were discouraging. The Conference rocked from the repercussions of the blow, and the long, bitter quarrel which had preceded it, and it was only gradually that wounds were

[26] Berger, *United Brethren*, 372-85; Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 1889-1900, p. 12.

[27] *Kuns* v. *Robertson, Ill. Reports*, Vol. 154: 394-416.

healed. By the time the Rock River Conference merged with that of Central Illinois in 1901 it had recovered only half of the lost membership.

Since the period of the little schism in the United Brethren Church, its record of progress and development has been so similar to that of every Protestant church that there is little to remark in its history. Adoption of a more tolerant attitude on the secret society question removed one bar to growth and the church has added steadily to its membership. In 1896 the church as a whole enrolled 238,782 members, of whom approximately 16,000 lived in Illinois. In 1938 there were 433,678 names on the rolls and 24,387 of these were in the Illinois Conference which ranked seventh in size among the twenty-eight conferences of the church.[28] Such figures sound trifling in comparison with the 8,000,000 members which the Methodist Church has encompassed by its recent merger, but, like minor political parties, the relatively small size of the United Brethren Church in the past has permitted it to experiment with methods of organization and introduce advances which larger churches have had to adopt much more cautiously. In 1877 the church allowed Annual Conferences to provide for lay delegation and many of them promptly did so. Thus there appeared for the first time at the Rock River Conference in 1882, seventeen laymen representing most of the charges in the district. The new constitution of 1889 made lay delegation a practice of the entire church. Since that time, the pew has shared equally with the pulpit in formulating the policies and enacting the laws for the United Brethren denomination. Another democratic feature of church government was introduced in 1881 when a flexible scheme for pro rata representation of the Annual Conferences in the General Conference was adopted.

The growth of the church in pioneer days had necessitated a multiplication of conferences; growth in the modern, machine age had the opposite result. As the railway network of the state developed to the point where every city had adequate connections,

[28] *The Church Annual* (Dayton, 1939), statistical tables, 94-98.

preachers were no longer limited in their traveling capacity by a horse's endurance. Economies were to be gained in joining many of the functions of separate conferences. The whole tendency in twentieth century America has been toward elimination of local and provincial lines of division and an increasing emphasis upon national authority, in social and cultural organizations as well as in government. Thus the earlier process of subdivision was reversed and a trend toward consolidation set in—a consolidation, moreover, that came to be based more and more distinctly upon state lines. The Rock River Conference merged with the Central Illinois in 1901, and the entire northern part of the state was reunited by the return of the area beyond the Illinois River in 1905. When the automobile and the Illinois system of roads made travel even easier for preachers, it was possible for the entire state to join in a single conference. The Lower Wabash Conference, which had previously re-absorbed the Southern Illinois, joined hands with the Northern Illinois in 1917 to create a conference coterminous with the boundaries of the state.

Many have been the ways in which the Machine Age has forced the church to adapt itself to new conditions and change its ancient character. The United Brethren Church had its ideological beginning in a barn and it has always maintained a distinctly rural character. Nevertheless, in an age characterized primarily by the rise of the city, when the rural population declined both relatively and absolutely, no church which confined its ministrations to farms and villages could expect to grow. Foresighted United Brethren realized this fact as soon as the fact came to exist. As early as 1869, the Rock River Conference adopted a resolution to "endeavour to establish churches in the towns and cities that are so rapidly growing up all over our Conference territory."[29] Thereafter, the resolution was repeated frequently, but the actual work proved to be difficult. It would seem that the German immigrants, pouring into Chicago and northern Illinois in the decades after 1848, would have provided rich and virgin soil for the United

[29] Minutes of the Rock River Conference, 1853-1876, p. 251.

Brethren Church, with her German background and traditions. Again, the church realized the situation and made several half-hearted attempts to exploit it. The truth is, however, that the church had become so Americanized in the Middle West that she had little now to offer a German immigrant which could not equally well be provided by the Methodists or Baptists; and her uncompromising stand on temperance, amusements, and secret societies must have alienated the liberal immigrants of Carl Schurz's day.

Gradually and painfully, the rural church invaded the growing cities, with the aid of such agencies as the Frontier, Home and Missionary Society and the Church Erection Board. Decatur and Quincy were early centers of United Brethren activity. A class was organized in Freeport in 1872 and in Sterling in 1877, but not until 1895 did the Conference muster courage and resources for an invasion of Chicago. Missions were organized in Springfield, Bloomington and Peoria after the turn of the century. These city churches have prospered, but they have not profoundly altered the character of the parent body. The United Brethren Church is still an essentially rural church in Illinois, with only 39 of its 192 congregations in towns of 1,000 or more people.[30]

If Philip William Otterbein—or even John Denham—were to visit us today, he would probably have as much difficulty recognizing his church as any other part of the modern scene. In its adaptation to the changing mores of the Machine Age, the United Brethren Church has moved cautiously. It has no streamlined effects, like some of its contemporaries, but on the other hand, it has moved beyond the horse and buggy age, which some of its companions have not. Church organization and corporate activity have grown increasingly complicated. Joseph Williams' first report of his work in Illinois consisted of two blunt statements: that he had been an agent for the saving of 100 souls and that he had received $15.30 salary. At the present time, a minister in the Illinois Conference has 140 blanks to fill when he makes his annual report. Associations, boards, commissions and unattached agen-

[30] *Illinois Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, Ninety-Third Annual Session* (Dayton, 1938), 12-17.

cies have multiplied within the church as they have within the government. Extensive foreign mission establishments and investments in Sierra Leone, Canton, Japan, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands call for an elaborate supporting organization at home. A sixteen-story publishing house in Dayton, Ohio, furnishes reading materials for urchins in Illinois Sunday Schools. Young people of the church are organized into Christian Endeavor societies; women into Women's Aid societies; men into Otterbein brotherhoods. The church supports five colleges and a theological seminary, two homes for orphans and aged dependents, and a modern headquarters building in Dayton.

None of these, however, is in Illinois, and in many respects, Illinois United Brethren form the periphery rather than the heart of the organization. In one respect, however, Illinois Conference has assumed a degree of leadership which ranks her with the most forward-looking leaders of the modern Protestant church; this is the field of the youth movement, one of the most promising in the modern church. The various agencies, such as the Sunday School and the Christian Endeavor, which had been working haphazardly, unscientifically and sometimes at cross-purposes with the youth of the church, were bound together and co-ordinated under a Board of Christian Education in 1930. Thereupon ensued a New Deal for the educational function of the church and it has prospered mightily since that time. The plan of holding a summer camp for educational, recreational and inspirational purposes was inaugurated immediately, and in the last seven years has become a highly effective program, based on modern techniques of camp training and modern educational psychology.

There are many fields of modern religion, however, into which the United Brethren Church has not ventured. Dealing primarily with a rural membership, and limited by its small size and smaller budget, the church has never made the headlines, either as a champion of the standing order or as an advocate of vital reform. On the whole, it has been as conservative as the farmers who sit in its pews; it can be accused neither of propping up decadent capitalism

nor of preaching socialism. Its resolutions continue to attack only one vested interest, the liquor industry, and to regard divorce, Sabbath-breaking, cheap amusements, and the absence of the Bible in public schools as the paramount social evils in the state.[31] Only among the younger members from the city churches and a few of the liberal leaders are the issues of war and peace, labor relations, economic systems and social maladjustments connected with religion in any vital way.

In 1930, the Illinois Conference celebrated the centenary of the organization of the first United Brethren class in the state. The Conference met in a beautiful, modern church building in Bloomington; on the third day the delegates made a pilgrimage to the spot, twelve miles distant, where the Moats and the Havens families had constituted themselves a United Brethren class in 1830. The fact that this event had to be commemorated by a granite marker in a cornfield was deeply significant; it symbolized the march of events. Here, in McLean County as in a cyclorama, the delegates of 1930 could have seen before them the history of the United Brethren Church in miniature. It was here that the pioneer missionaries found their first followers in Illinois; here that the earliest class was organized. In the 1840's the classes had spread up and down the valleys of the Mackinaw River and Money Creek as circuit riders crossed swamps and prairies to visit their appointments and hold camp meetings in the groves. In the fifties came the railroads and then the railroad towns; congregations moved into Lexington, Towanda, Downs and Saybrook while others stayed behind. A neat little frame meetinghouse was erected on Money Creek circuit near the log cabin of Father and Mother Moats, and blanketed Kickapoos from Old Town attended the services.[32] In the sixties the boys went to war, and the folks in Saybrook and Lexington tried to bury their troubles in hard work, helping the shorthanded farmers round about to build lovely little country chapels. When some of the boys came back

[31] See resolutions in Minutes for 1938, cited above.
[32] *The Daily Pantagraph* [Bloomington], Nov. 24, 1928.

from the war, the little United Brethren communities had achieved stability, and life went serenely on for decades while the outside world raged over greenbacks, railroad abuses, tariffs, strikes, Populism and Cuba.

But eventually came a sense of uneasiness and responsibility. Farmers' sons went to college or to Chicago and never came back; harvesters and corn planters and tractors produced mortgage debts and leisure time; automobiles and roads emptied the little chapels and brought some of their members back to Saybrook and Lexington. In 1888 there had been fifteen rural churches in the county; in 1911 there were only eight. That was the year in which services were abandoned in old Money Creek church, which Father Moats had helped to build with his own hands. It was likewise the year in which a tabernacle was raised at the corner of Union and Roosevelt streets in Bloomington, and a congregation of thirty-seven members was organized, including descendants of Jacob Moats.[33] The coincidence is eloquent; a minor strain of regret for the empty church in the wildwood must have mingled with the chorus of thanksgiving for the enterprise arising amid the smoke and clangor of the Chicago and Alton shops in the city. A year later, F. M. Moats aided in a new building enterprise, this time with money. A beautiful church was erected to replace the tabernacle, and with a rare sense of the appropriate, was named Moats Memorial. In 1928 the Money Creek church was sold and torn down for lumber; but someone had possessed a sense of the historically dramatic, for the walnut seats in the old church, hand-hewn out of logs that Jacob Moats had felled, were saved and placed in the basement of the Moats Memorial Church in Bloomington, the fulfillment of the work he had started. There they continue to serve today, a worthy symbol of a hundred years of United Brethren history in Illinois.

[33] *Northern Illinois Conference, Sixty-Sixth Annual Session* (Dayton, 1911), 39.

ILLINOIS AND HER INDIANS

By GRANT FOREMAN*

A century has passed since the closing of the last official chapter that recorded the presence of an American Indian in Illinois. Information touching the Indians identified with the history of this state, therefore, is derived from evidence of considerable antiquity. At the beginning of an inquiry into the subject, the nomenclature of the region furnishes information concerning the identity of the Indians who lived here. It is an anomaly that, notwithstanding the treatment the Indians received at the hands of the whites throughout the length and breadth of this country, numerous mountains and streams, cities, counties and states bear the names of tribes and chiefs, bestowed by the aborigines or appropriated by the whites as a memorial to the people whose lands we took from them. And so this state: seven counties and innumerable cities, towns, streets and streams of Illinois have Indian names.

And thus the name of the state identifies Indian tribes of this region, first seen and visited by Jolliet, La Salle, Marquette, Hennepin and other early French explorers and missionaries. The Illinois Indians were a confederacy of Algonquian tribes, comprising the Kaskaskia, the principal tribe, Cahokia, Michigamea, Peoria and Tamaroa, that at an early date were found in northerly Illinois, southerly Wisconsin, and sections of Iowa and Missouri.[1]

* Grant Foreman, eminent authority on Indian and western history, who lives in Muskogee, Oklahoma, delivered this address at the Illinois Day Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Springfield, December 4, 1939.

[1] For accounts of the Illinois Indians as seen by early French explorers see Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (various editions); Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians* (Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1912); Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois*

They were the outstanding Indians of the region, and the name of Illinois came to be applied to all the country with which they were identified. In official parlance, before and after the Revolution, the term "the Illinois" had reference to a considerable expanse of country on both sides of the Mississippi River. And in 1803, when President Jefferson submitted to Congress an account of Louisiana, then the subject of purchase by the United States from France, he inventoried "the Illinois" west of the Mississippi River as one of the divisions of the province of Louisiana, and said that "in the Illinois there are commandants at New Madrid, St. Genevieve, New Bourbon, St. Charles, and St. Andrew's, all subordinate to the commandant-general."[2]

The Illinois Indians were harrassed by Sioux and Foxes who greatly reduced their population until, about 1750, they numbered only 1,500 to 2,000. The murder of Pontiac at Cahokia by a Kaskaskia Indian about 1769 provoked the vengeance of the lake tribes on the Illinois, and a war of extermination was begun, which, in a few years reduced them to a handful, who took refuge with the French settlers at Kaskaskia, while the aggressor Sauk, Foxes, Kickapoo and Potawatomi took possession of their country.

The designation of this region as Illinois County by Virginia, in 1778, and its inclusion in the Northwest Territory in 1784, were phases that did not entail much change in the country; nor did the establishment of Indiana Territory in 1800. But with the inauguration of President Jefferson's administration, radical changes were undertaken.

From our earliest history the relations of the federal government to the Indians have been anomalous, based upon treaties with their tribal authorities. We have recognized the Indians as owning at least the possessory rights to the landed areas occupied or claimed by them, the title to which could be extinguished only by the formalities of mutual understandings in writing, and the

Country (Springfield, 1920); Randall Parrish, *Historic Illinois* (Chicago, 1914); John Gilmary Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi* (Albany, 1861); George W. Smith, *A Student's History of Illinois* (Bloomington, 1906) and many other authorities there cited.

[2] *American State Papers*, "Miscellaneous," I: 345.

recital, at least, of considerations to be paid.

Our first Indian treaty was made with the Delaware while we were engaged in the Revolutionary War. We were weak and needful of aid, which we sought from this powerful tribe. The agreement reached with them, allowing the colonists to cross their country to attack the enemy, promise of man power, and other assistance for certain considerations, was incorporated in the "Articles of Agreement and Confederation" executed on September 17, 1778.[3] Since then such agreements have been called treaties. Up to the year 1871 we entered into 371 treaties with Indian tribes, the controlling purpose being, with few exceptions, to secure a little more and a little more of the land of the Indians and remove them farther and farther west.

In 1870 the United States Supreme Court held that an act of Congress could abrogate the terms of an Indian treaty,[4] and Congress thereupon determined that an Indian tribe lacked the elements of sovereignty which qualified it to enter into treaty negotiations with the national government.[5] From that time the same results were attained by scores of "agreements" negotiated in the same manner and under the same influences. But throughout the history of our Indian relations we have recognized them as landed owners, and with few exceptions, assumed to take possession of their land only after punctilious observance of the form, at least, of negotiation and recorded acquiescence.[6]

[3] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VII: 13. This volume contains all Indian treaties up to 1842. The treaties with the Indian tribes referred to herein (to August 16, 1825) are to be found also in a volume of treaties published in Washington in 1826 by Way and Gideon; a compilation of Indian treaties in force in 1873 was published in that year by authority of Congress by the Government Printing Office in Washington. Volume II of *Senate Documents*, 452, 57 Cong., 1 sess., a compilation of Indian laws and treaties by Charles J. Kappler, Washington, 1903, is the most easily accessible. The first two publications contain the names of the signers of the treaties which the others do not. The Kappler compilation is well indexed and treaties in it are easily found.

[4] "The Cherokee Tobacco," *U. S. Supreme Court Reports*, 78: 616.

[5] *Statutes at Large*, XVI: 566.

[6] President Washington, on Feb. 13, 1793, submitted to the Senate for consideration a treaty of peace with the Illinois and Wabash Indians bearing date of Sept. 27, 1792, negotiated at Vincennes by Gen. Rufus Putnam. Article Four of the treaty reads as follows: "The United States solemnly guaranty to the Wabash, and the Illinois nations, or tribes of Indians, all the lands to which they have a just

After fifteen treaties were negotiated and ratified, the first that directly involved the Illinois Country was to terminate the Indian wars. It was made at Greenville, Ohio, on August 3, 1795, by General Anthony Wayne with the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Miami, Eel River, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankashaw and Kaskaskia Indians.[7] Besides other features, the treaty defined the western boundary between these Indian tribes and the United States, to which they ceded sixteen tracts of land. Three of these were described as follows:

> One piece of land six miles square at the mouth of Chikago river emptying into the south-west end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. . . . One piece twelve miles square at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the

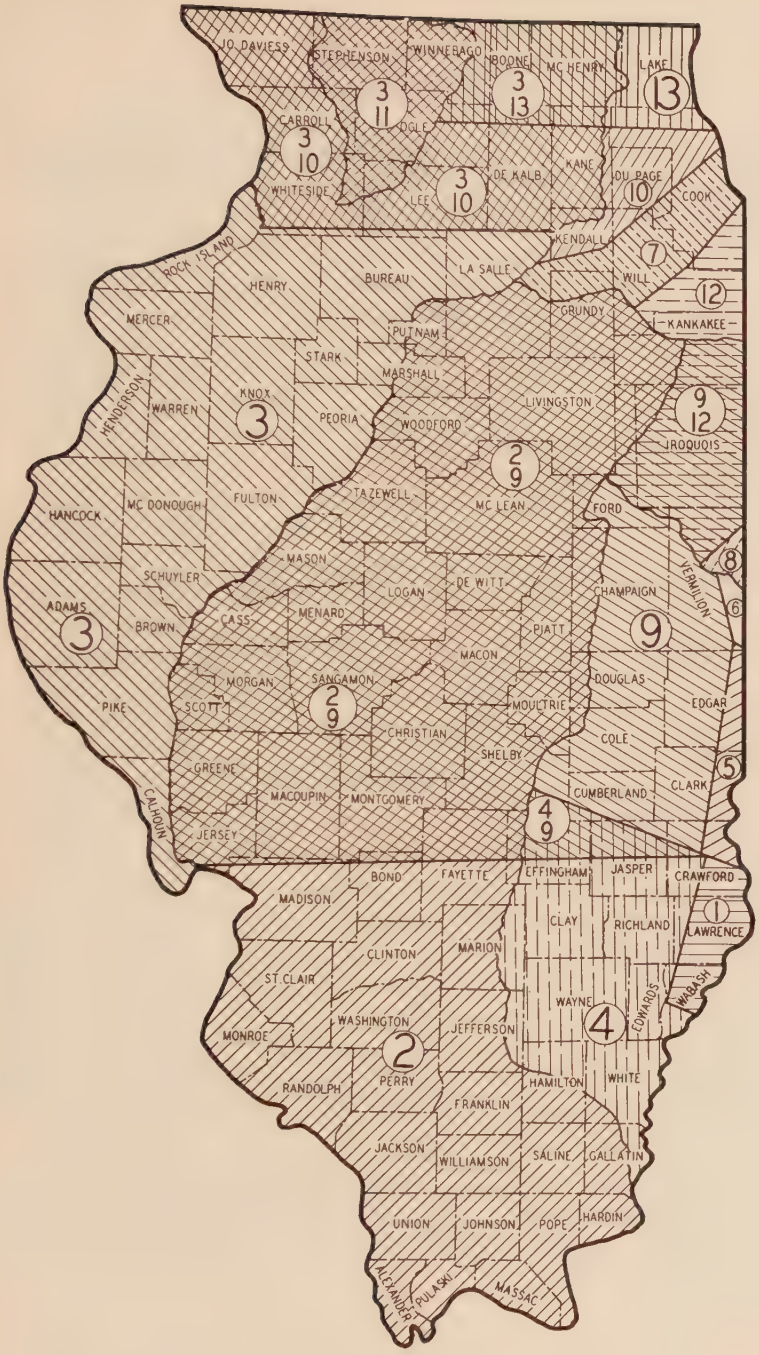
claim; and no part shall ever be taken from them, but by a fair purchase, and to their satisfaction. That the lands originally belonged to the Indians; it is theirs, and theirs only. That they have a right to sell, and a right to refuse to sell. And that the United States will protect them in their said just rights." (*Am. St. Pap.* "Indian Affairs," I: 338). Apparently the Senate did not share Gen. Putnam's generous views of Indian r[i]ghts, for the treaty was not ratified. Against the background of treaty negotiations is the sordid picture of the means by which Indian leaders often were induced to agree to them. What became in difficult cases a federal policy, was expressed in one instance as an "appeal to the avarice of corruptible chiefs."

[7] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 49 ff.

Indian Cessions of Illinois Lands.

Legend.

1. June 7, 1803. Definition of Vincennes Tract.
2. August 13, 1803. Treaty with Kaskaskia tribe (confirmed by Treaty of September 25, 1818).
3. November 3, 1804 (September 13, 1815, September 14, 1815, May 13, 1816, and August 19, 1825). Treaty with Sauk and Fox Indians.
4. December 30, 1805. Treaty with Piankashaw tribe.
5. September 30, 1809. Treaty with Delaware, Potawatomi and Miami (and December 9, 1809 with Kickapoo Indians).
6. June 4, 1816. Treaty with Wea and Kickapoo Indians.
7. August 24, 1816. Treaty with Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians.
8. October 2, 1818. Treaty with Potawatomi Indians.
9. July 30, 1819. Treaty with Kickapoo Indians.
10. July 29, 1829. Treaty with Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa Indians.
11. September 15, 1832. Treaty with Winnebago Indians.
12. October 20, 1832. Treaty with Potawatomi Indians.
13. September 26, 1833. Treaty with Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa Indians.



INDIAN CESSIONS OF ILLINOIS LANDS

(See opposite page for legend)

> Mississippi. . . . One piece six miles square at the old Piorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake on said Illinois river.

The supposed owners of these three Illinois tracts were not designated in the treaty, but were indicated by the smallest allotment of the consideration promised all the tribes named in the treaty. This sum of $500 was to go to the Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, Wea, Eel River, and Piankashaw, who were more or less identified with Illinois. By Section Four of this treaty the United States relinquished to the Indians its claim to all other land in Illinois except Fort Massac.

While the negotiations that led to the Louisiana Purchase on April 30, 1803, were under way, other negotiations with the Indians were planned,[8] having for their object the cession of land in Illinois on which settlers were located, and which might soon become desired by other settlers. These undertakings were a part of the considerations involved in the consolidation of the Illinois Country, for the better security of the western frontier against such malign influence as might exist west of the Mississippi River.

There followed a number of important Indian treaties negotiated by William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, of which Illinois was then a part. That of June 7, 1803, with the Miami, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Potawatomi, Delaware, Eel River, Wea, Piankashaw and Kaskaskia,[9] had for one object the better definition of some of the boundaries laid down in Wayne's treaty of 1795, in which the Illinois Indians were not particularly concerned; but they were interested in the following provision: "The said tribes do hereby relinquish and cede to the United States the great salt spring upon the Saline creek which falls into the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash," with four square miles of land surrounding it, for which the United States agreed to pay the

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[8] Numerous Indian treaties of this period, together with correspondence relating to them are to be seen in *Am. St. Pap.* "Ind. Aff.," I: 643 ff.

[9] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 74. A supplemental treaty with the same Indians was negotiated two months later (*ibid.*, 77).

Indians annually 150 bushels of salt.[10] The treaty also recited that the Indians gave their consent for the United States to locate three tracts of land upon the road between Vincennes and Kaskaskia for the purpose of erecting houses of entertainment for travelers. Article One defined the boundaries of the Vincennes Reserve, which extended from Indiana across the Wabash River and included most of the present Lawrence, and parts of Wabash and Crawford counties in Illinois.

Harrison again assembled representatives of the Kaskaskia tribe at Vincennes on August 13, 1803, for the execution of other agreements. The treaty they executed described the makers as the "head chiefs and warriors of the Kaskaskia tribe of Indians so called, but which tribe is the remains and rightfully represent all the tribes of the Illinois Indians, originally called the Kaskaskia, Mitchigamia, Cahokia and Tamaroi." It declared:

> Whereas . . . the several tribes of Illinois Indians are reduced to a very small number, the remains of which have been long consolidated and known by the name of the Kaskaskia tribe, and finding themselves unable to occupy the extensive tract of country which of right belongs to them and which was possessed by their ancestors for many generations, the chiefs and warriors of the said tribe . . . cede to the United States all the lands in the Illinois country . . . [except] about three hundred and fifty acres near the town of Kaskaskia.[11]

The cession included all the land extending from the present Cairo and Metropolis on the south nearly to the Kankakee River and bounded on the west by a line from this northerly point to the mouth of the Illinois River.

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[10] For some years the manufacture of salt at these springs near Shawneetown was the principal industry of Illinois. In 1810 five establishments operating four furnaces each and fourteen wells were making 126,000 bushels of salt annually. In 1816 Leonard White, "agent for the United States saline on the Wabash," reported the area of this saline reservation as 98,500 acres (*Am. St. Pap.*, "Public Lands," III: 242).

[11] This treaty is to be seen in *Statutes at Large*, VII: 78. The area conveyed by it was estimated by the general land office at 8,608,167 acres, part of which lay within the limits of the Kickapoo cession to be made at Edwardsville on July 30, 1819. It required the treaty of Sept. 26, 1818, at Edwardsville, in which the Peoria joined, to round out all the holdings of the Illinois Indians.

This treaty was signed by General Harrison for the United States and by Jean Baptiste Ducoigne and two other Kaskaskia, by one Cahokia and one Michigamea Indian. The tract of 350 acres reserved near the town of Kaskaskia had always been held by the Kaskaskia Indians and was secured to them by an act of Congress of March 3, 1791.[12] An annuity of $1,000 in money or merchandise was to be paid to these Indians at Vincennes, Fort Massac or Kaskaskia; and it was also provided:

> *Whereas* the greater part of the said tribe have been baptised and received into the Catholic church to which they are much attached, the United States will give annually for seven years one hundred dollars towards the support of a priest of that religion, who will engage to perform for the said tribe the duties of his office, and also to instruct as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature. And the United States will further give the sum of three hundred dollars to assist the said tribe in the erection of a church.

President Jefferson in October submitted the treaty to the Senate for confirmation. In his third annual message to Congress on October 17, 1803, he reported the securing of this treaty as an achievement of much importance, comparable in a small way, one might suppose, to the Louisiana Purchase:

> Another important acquisition of territory has also been made since the last session of Congress. The friendly tribe of Kaskaskia Indians, with which we have never had a difference, reduced by the wars and wants of savage life to a few individuals unable to defend themselves against the neighboring tribes, has transferred its country to the United States, reserving only for its members what is sufficient to maintain them in an agricultural way.[13]

By these treaties with the Kaskaskia the United States had for the first time acquired from the Indians title to a definite area of land in what is now Illinois. As there were several hundred white settlers in the southern part of it, and as others wished to

[12] *Statutes at Large*, I: 222.

[13] James D. Richardson (comp.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of he Presidents* (N. Y., 1904), I: 359.

make their homes in this section of the public domain, Congress, on March 26, 1804, directed the survey of the area and the establishment of a land office at Kaskaskia for the disposition of the country lying within its boundaries. Provision was made in this act for all persons claiming lands within said area by virtue of any grant made by the French government prior to the Treaty of Paris, on February 10, 1763; or under any local grant made by the British government subsequent to said treaty and prior to the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain on September 3, 1783; or by any act or resolution of Congress subsequent to that date, to deliver to the land office at Kaskaskia his evidence of title for record and proof.[14]

The Sauk and Fox Indians, who claimed the country along the Mississippi River from Portage des Sioux north to the Wisconsin River, had had an interesting and turbulent career, and at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, were particularly identified with the upper part of the Illinois Country, which they occupied with the Kickapoo and Potawatomi after driving the Illinois Indians from their old home.

Five members of a Sauk band, known as the Missouri River Sauk, were induced to come to St. Louis where, on November 3, 1804, General Harrison persuaded them to enter into a treaty purporting to bind the united tribes of Sauk and Fox Indians. In this treaty the Indians undertook to cede to the United States that vast area bounded on the west by the Mississippi, on the east and south by the Illinois and Fox rivers, and on the north by the Wisconsin, extending from the southern end of Calhoun County north into Wisconsin.[15]

The Piankashaw Indians were formerly a sub-tribe of the Miami, but later a separate people. Their ancient village was on

[14] *Statutes at Large*, II: 277. For an account of the proceedings under authority of this act see *Am. St. Pap.*, "Pub. Lands," II:123 and *passim.*

[15] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 84. A part of this cession lay on the west side of the Mississippi. The whole area thus ceded was estimated at 14,000,000 acres, of which 6,004,000 lay in Illinois south of a line running due west from the south end of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. That part of the cession lying north of this line, estimated at 5,000,000 acres, was dealt with in later treaties.

the Wabash, at the junction of the Vermilion. In order to round out the public lands in southern Illinois, soon after the establishment of the land office at Kaskaskia, the Piankashaw were induced by Governor Harrison at Vincennes, on December 30, 1805, to cede to the United States the area now substantially included in Crawford, Jasper, Effingham, Clay, Richland, Edwards, Wayne, White, and parts of adjoining counties.[16] President Jefferson submitted this treaty to the United States Senate on February 7, 1806, with the remark that it completed the entire consolidation of "our possessions on the north bank of the Ohio."[17] Which it did, in connection with other cessions east of the Wabash River, not noticed here.

Both before and after Illinois Territory was set off from Indiana Territory in 1809, British intrigue, through traders and other agencies, was active in aligning our Indians against the Americans. Potent British influence with these Indians is comprehensible in the light of contemporary history. It was well known and conceded by American officers and Indian agents that the British traders furnished the Indians better goods than did the Americans.[18] They had a better understanding of Indian character and were more adroit in their dealings. They were able to convince the Indians by reference to recent history, that the Americans were interested only in securing their lands, and that the welfare of the Indians was to be secured by taking sides with the British.

Continued Indian hostilities in Illinois Territory and surrounding areas, the example and influence of Tecumseh, and his abortive attempt at a great Indian confederacy, followed by his defeat at the Battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, the advice and persuasions of Tecumseh's brother, the Prophet, and other events and influences, created in the Indians an inflamed state of mind against the Americans, so that when Congress de-

[16] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 100. The area of Illinois land in this cession was estimated by the land office at 2,616,921 acres.

[17] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," I: 704. However, the treaty was not ratified and proclaimed until May 23, 1807.

[18] *Ibid.*, II: 62 and *passim*.

clared war against Great Britain on June 18, 1812, Indians of many tribes north of the Ohio River were found committed to the fortunes of the British.

Bands of Kickapoo, Sauk, Potawatomi, and Winnebago Indians were receiving goods from the British at Malden in Canada under the influence of the Shawnee Prophet, who was holding meetings with these Indians along the Illinois River and other places and promoting hostilities against the settlers in Illinois and Indiana.[19] Potawatomi Indians were raiding in the neighborhood of the village of Peoria. Memorials and appeals for help by the alarmed inhabitants of the sparse settlements in the Illinois Country were addressed to President Madison.[20]

In St. Clair County, Illinois, a large meeting was held where memorials to Governor Reynolds and President Madison were adopted, calling attention to the menace of the Indians and the exposed frontier of the country. For their protection they asked that a fort or blockhouse be erected above the mouth of the Illinois or Missouri, and "another in the seditious village of Peoria, the great nursery of hostile Indians and traitorous British Indian traders," and that arms be furnished them.[21] Many blockhouses were being erected by settlers.

At the time war was declared it was estimated that the warriors of the Sauk and Foxes on the Mississippi River numbered about four hundred; and there were about five hundred of the Kickapoo, Miami, Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa living on the Illinois River and its branches.[22] Captain Nathan Heald, commandant at Fort Dearborn, on August 9, 1812, received orders to evacuate the post and proceed with his command to Detroit. On the thirteenth Captain Wells of Fort Wayne arrived with thirty Miami Indians to act as escort. The next day Heald distributed to a large number of Indians who came to the post all the goods in the factory store and all the provisions he could not take with

[19] *Niles Weekly Register*, II (July 25, 1812), 342, 343.
[20] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," I: 797 ff.
[21] *Ibid.*, 803.
[22] *Niles Weekly Reg.*, III (Oct. 17, 1812), 106.

him. He destroyed all the liquor and the ammunition and arms he could not carry, to prevent the Indians from making improper use of them. This action incensed the Indians and probably influenced their subsequent conduct.

On August 15, at nine o'clock, the occupants of the post began their march, a part of the Miami in front and the remainder in the rear under the command of Captain Wells. They marched south along the lake shore, with a high ridge of sand 100 yards distant on their right. When they had proceeded about a mile and a half they discovered Indians behind the sand ridge threatening hostilities. Heald and his command advanced and attacked, when the Indians gave way only to pass around and capture all the horses, provisions and baggage. Finding that the Miami did not cooperate in their defense, Heald retired to a better position for action. The Indians then signaled to him from the sand ridge and when Heald went to them a Potawatomi chief named Black Bird proposed through an interpreter that if they would surrender, their lives would be spared.

When they yielded and gave up their arms they were marched back to the Indian encampment near Fort Dearborn and scattered among the different tribes. The next morning the Indians set fire to the fort and departed with their prisoners. Heald said that there were between four and five hundred Indians in the attacking party, mostly Potawatomi, and that their loss was about fifteen. Heald's force consisted of fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, out of which twenty-six regulars and all the militia were killed in action, with two women and twelve children. The killed included Ensign George Ronan and Dr. Isaac Van Voorhis of Heald's company, and Captain Wells.[23] Lieutenant Linai T. Helm with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children were prisoners when Heald separated from them. Captain Heald and his wife, both badly wounded, were taken to the mouth of St. Joseph River, where they were cared

[23] It was said that the massacre was led by the ferocious Potawatomi chief, Waubunsee. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1855), V: 530.

for by an Indian trader named Burnet. After the Indians left them to attack Fort Wayne, Heald engaged a Frenchman who took them in a canoe to Michilimackinac, where he surrendered as a prisoner of war to Captain Roberts, British commandant. This officer did all possible to aid their recovery and make them comfortable; and after receiving Heald's parole assisted them in reaching Buffalo and Pittsburgh, where, on October 23, he made the statement from which this account is condensed.[24]

Governor Edwards and Colonel William Russell, with two companies of rangers, fifty men from Indiana, and about three hundred militiamen, in October departed from Edwardsville on an expedition against the Indians on Illinois River. They first proceeded to the Saline fork of the Sangamon, late residence of the Kickapoo, where they burned two Indian villages. They then continued to the head of Peoria Lake, twenty-four miles above the village. Here they found the Kickapoo and a party of Miami, whom they attacked and drove into a swamp, many of them escaping in their canoes across the river. Between twenty and thirty Indians were killed and a number wounded. Four prisoners were taken, six American scalps and some horses that had lately been stolen in St. Clair County were recovered.

At the principal Kickapoo village burned by the whites, upwards of 1,000 bushels of corn were destroyed, besides a prodigious quantity of beans, dried meat, pumpkins, tallow, furs and peltry. Their houses were strong and well-built; some which were large enough to accommodate fifty persons well provided with personal property were in a few hours reduced to ashes. Their household effects, eighty head of horses, about two hundred brass kettles, a great quantity and variety of silver and other ornaments, bags of gunpowder, flints, etc., were brought off.[25]

General Samuel Hopkins of Indiana marched with a force of 1,000 men also to attack the Indians in Illinois. They crossed the

[24] *Niles Weekly Reg.*, III (Nov. 7, 1812), 155. In Vol. IV of *Niles Register* is a less accurate account of the massacre by Walter Jordan, a non-commissioned officer who was in the engagement.

[25] *Missouri Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1812; Draper Manuscripts (Wis. Hist. Soc., Madison), 26 S:93-95.

Wabash on October 14, 1812, on what was to be an utterly futile adventure. The soldiers mutinied and from lack of preparation and discipline the movement collapsed. The disorganized army turned back before seeing an Indian and returned to Indiana.[26]

Immediately after the burning of the Kickapoo towns, a party of troops commanded by Captain Craig of Shawneetown proceeded to Peoria. Within half a mile of that place they burned the Indian village said to have been erected by the Miami. Captain Craig justified his act by the claim that he and his company of militia were fired on in the night, while at anchor in the boats before the village, by Indians with whom the inhabitants were suspected by Craig to be too intimate and friendly.[27]

Craig was not satisfied merely to burn the town, but he seized the Indian sub-agent, Thomas Forsyth, with his Indian merchandise, whom, with the inhabitants of the place, he carried far down to the mouth of the Illinois River.[28]

The old village of Peoria was situated on the northwest shore of Lake Peoria, about a mile and a half above the lower extremity or outlet of the lake. The village had been inhabited by the French from remote times. The new village of Peoria was begun in 1778 by the erection of the first house about one and a half miles below the old village. The place was at first called La Ville de Maillet, from John Baptiste Maillet, one of the first residents.[29] The situation was preferred in consequence of better water and its being thought more healthful; the inhabitants gradually deserted the old village, and by 1796 or 1797 had entirely abandoned it and removed to the new village.

Hostilities and alarms in Illinois continued and in February, 1814, there was a rumor from Kaskaskia of a large force organizing to descend the Mississippi and Illinois rivers.[30] They were supposed to be preparing to carry their winter's collection of furs and

[26] An extended account of this fiasco, written by General Hopkins is to be seen in *Niles Weekly Reg.*, III (Nov. 28, 1812), 204.
[27] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Pub. Lands," III: 476.
[28] Forsyth to Secretary of War, March 19, 1818, *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XI: 352-55.
[29] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Pub. Lands," III: 476.
[30] *Niles Weekly Reg.*, VI (April 16, 1814), 113.

peltries from the north to market at New Orleans, and they would be armed even to cannon, the report said. A little later in the year one of the gunboats commanded by Lieutenant Campbell, operating up the Illinois River, was attacked by a large party of Indians[31] in canoes. Minor engagements on the Illinois and Mississippi were of frequent occurrence, according to accounts from St. Louis.[32]

Negotiations to end the war were entered into at Ghent, where the British commissioners arrived on August 4, 1814, to meet the American commissioners, who had preceded them. The latter included Henry Clay, Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams and two others. At the first meeting two days later the British commissioners submitted the basis of peace discussion, consisting of three principal points. Two of these notes, the first and third, dealt with the subject of seizure of mariners on board merchant vessels, and the revision of the boundaries between the United States and Canada. The second was to introduce a subject of great interest and novelty in our Indian relations. This point read as follows:

> The Indian allies of Great Britain to be included in the pacification, and a boundary to be settled between the dominions of the Indians and those of the United States. Both parts of this point are considered by the British government as a *sine qua non* to the conclusion of the treaty.

The American commissioners were astounded by this proposition; they protested that the Indians were not proper parties, and that

[31] One of these river gunboats was described in the summer of 1814 by a British army officer, who encountered her during an attack he made on Prairie du Chien. He found the place fortified by six pieces of cannon, while "lying at anchor in the middle of the Mississippi, immediately in front of the fort, [was] a very large gunboat, called Governor Clark, gunboat No. 1. She mounts 14 pieces cannon, some six, three, and a number of cohorns, is manned with 70 or 80 men with fire-arms, and measures 70 feet keel. This floating blockhouse is so constructed that she can be rowed in any direction, the men on board being perfectly safe from small arms while they can use their own to the greatest advantage. She goes remarkably fast, particularly down the current, being rowed by 32 oars." He found a similar but smaller gunboat farther down stream, near Rock Island (Report of Col. W. McKay, July 27, 1814, *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XI: 264).

[32] *Niles Weekly Reg.*, V (Sept. 4, 1813), 12.

the commissioners had no authority to include them in the treaty discussion.

Nevertheless, the British commissioners persisted with their demands, which, they said, were based on instructions from London from which there could be no departure. They felt an obligation not to abandon their Indian allies, they said, and through months of negotiation they repeatedly stated their contention in various forms. Finally, in a letter of October 8, they offered an article intended to cover the controverted issue, with this observation:

> Whatever may be the result of the proposition thus offered, the undersigned deliver it as their ultimatum, and now await with anxiety the answer of the American plenipotentiaries, on which their continuance in this place will depend.

The American plenipotentiaries, to end the deadlock, decided to accept the British terms as written, and incorporated them as Article Nine in a draft of a proposed treaty submitted on November 10 to the British commissioners. With this as a tentative basis to work from, negotiations continued until, on December 24, 1814, a treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries.[33]

President Madison submitted this treaty to Congress on February 15, 1815, and two days later it was ratified. The alacrity with which the United States proceeded to carry out its engagements with Great Britain concerning our Indians as expressed in the treaty, is startling. Article Nine reads in part as follows:

> The United States of America engage to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations respectively all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in 1811 previous to such hostilities.

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[33] The negotiations and proceedings referred to in this account are to be seen in *Am. St. Pap.*, "Foreign Relations," III: 695-748; identified there by reference to "Thirtieth Congress, third session, *Exec. Doc.*, No. 269." The treaty is to be seen in *Am. St. Pap.*, "For. Rel.," III: 735-40, and in *Statutes at Large*, VIII: 218-23.

Less than a month after the Treaty of Ghent was ratified, James Monroe, secretary of war, on March 11 notified Governor William Clark of Missouri, Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois, and Colonel Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis, that they had been constituted by the president a commission to carry into effect the provisions of Article Nine by calling into council the Indians concerned, and entering into appropriate treaties with them.[34] They were directed to confine their efforts to this one subject. The Secretary told them that it was incumbent on the United States to execute every article of the treaty in perfect good faith, but that the government wished to be particularly exact in the execution of Article Nine.

The commissioners were directed to give immediate notice to all tribes with which the United States had been at war on the Mississippi and its waters, of the peace concluded with Great Britain, and the stipulations concerning them; and to invite the tribes to send deputations to meet the commissioners for the purpose of concluding the proposed treaties.

When the commissioners organized, they decided to hold the peace conference at Portage des Sioux, a little French village on the Missouri side of the Mississippi River, about five miles below the mouth of the Illinois River and across the Mississippi from Jersey County, Illinois.

They experienced great difficulty in performing the duties committed to them. In the first place, when notice of the treaty of peace with Great Britain was sent to the tribes, many of them were deeply disappointed, dissatisfied and resentful. To manifest their displeasure they renewed acts of hostility, depredations and massacres along the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. In the face of these demonstrations and the hostile attitude of the Indians, the commission found it difficult to convey thirty-seven invitations and proposed talks to as many Indian tribes, inviting them to come to Portage des Sioux. Armored and armed boats with strong guards were required before messengers could be induced to pass

[34] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," II: 6 ff.

up the Illinois and Mississippi rivers through the hostile country with messages for remote tribes. Particularly offensive and troublesome at this time were the Sauk and Foxes, who would not permit the messengers to pass above the mouth of Rock River. They also committed many acts of violence to show their disapproval of the recent treaty and the overtures for peace with them.[35]

The commissioners established themselves at the treaty grounds on July 6, and four days later opened up the council in the presence of Shawnee, Delaware, Sioux, Osage, Omaha (Maha), Iowa, Potawatomi, Piankashaw and Kaskaskia Indians, representing the more or less peaceful factions of those tribes. A number of Kickapoo on the premises at night hastily decamped in their canoes upon a rumor that some of the other Indians were going to attack them because of their opposition to peace.[36]

A great brush arbor was erected with rude seats of puncheons for the accommodation of commissioners and visiting delegations. Nearly two thousand Indians were present during the summer to listen to the terms and discussions of peace, but more interested in the food dispensed by the government, which accounted for the presence of hundreds of squaws and children. The gathering around the council grounds presented a picturesque and animated scene.[37] Timothy Flint, who was present, preserved some impressions of the place.[38]

Most of the Indians came by water in a great variety of craft. From the nearby Mississippi River and from the distant reaches of the Missouri, came large dugouts made from tree trunks. Beautiful birch bark canoes or large skiffs brought the Indians from higher up the Mississippi, and from the lakes over the portages into the Illinois River and down stream. Hundreds of these

[35] They had there a brass piece of artillery with which they saluted Agent Nicholas Boilvin when he came up the river (*Missouri Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1815). But they menaced the messengers of the treaty commission and would not let them pass. They sent word that if the commissioners wished to negotiate with them they would have to come to Rock River; they must come without soldiers, though traders would be welcome.

[36] *Missouri Gazette and Illinois Advertiser*, July 15, 1815.

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 142, 152 ff.

craft, riding on the edge of the river or resting on the bank, to the practiced eye identified many different tribes represented at the conference.

A large number of troops were present to police the encampment and discourage any thought of hostilities. They were sheltered in 100 tents systematically arranged in streets. Walking about among the encampments Flint saw scores of campfires, where Indians gathered, renewed old acquaintances and made new ones, boasted of their exploits. The odor of cooking food directed his attention to spits, where, instead of roasting pigs the savory invitation suggested, puppies were being prepared for food, but the plenitude of hundreds of dogs in the encampment did not suffer any apparent diminution. Excited groups were gathered around tables made like drums, covered with tight skins, where they gambled with cards, if they came from near the British settlements, and on their games they staked their money, peltries, rations, rifles, dogs, and even their squaws.

Many of the Indian lodges were made of bearskins; those from high up the Mississippi and the lakes were gracefully shaped cones of rush matting. Indians from the upper reaches of the Missouri covered their lodges with tanned buffalo robes ornamented on the inside with drawings. Marks of refinement were seen in carpetings, under the lodges, of rush mattings or rugs of skins.

The proceedings of the councils were dragged out by the interminable interpretations of the many tongues represented; sometimes translating from one to another before the speeches could be rendered into English. Many of the Illinois Indians spoke French and that medium was also employed before talks could be translated into English.

Accounts of the proceedings found their way into contemporary newspapers. Of particular interest was the death, on July 14, of Black Buffalo, principal chief of the Teton tribe. The next day, at his funeral, a solemn speech was made over his grave by Big Elk, an eloquent Omaha chief, which was quoted and reported

by Robert Walsh, secretary of the commission. The funeral was conducted with much ceremony, accompanied by the music of a military band, firing of cannon and the waving of a white flag at the head of the grave, all of which made a deep impression on the Indians; which, of course, was one of the objects of the commissioners.[39]

The treaties presented by the commissioners were entitled, "A treaty of peace and friendship," and were nearly all uniform in their provisions, covering only the points mentioned in Article Nine of the Treaty of Ghent, according to their instructions. They were short, containing only three articles besides the preamble and attestation. The first treaty was made on July 18, with the Potawatomi Indians, who, the year before, sought to make peace. The small band of Piankashaw who were prisoners of war signed the same day. On the nineteenth, four tribes from high up the Mississippi and Missouri agreed to the terms of as many treaties. The Omaha agreed on the twentieth, but others could not be induced to come to terms until the Kickapoo Indians signed on September 2. Through that month the Osage, Sauk, Foxes and Iowa agreed to the treaties. After the Kansas Indians made a treaty on October 28 no more could be secured until the next day.

In addition to the terms employed in most of the treaties, the Potawatomi, Kickapoo and Foxes agreed to take prisoners in their possession to the commanding officer at Fort Clark (Peoria), on the Illinois River;[40] the Iowa to deliver theirs at St. Louis, and the Menominee and Winnebago at Prairie du Chien. These treaties were unique also in that, with few exceptions, nothing was said in them about yielding up any of their tribal domain to the United States, a feature of almost every other treaty made with the American Indians.

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[39] *Niles Weekly Reg.*, IX (Oct. 14, 1815), 112-13.

[40] Capt. Joseph Phillips, commanding at Fort Clark, reported on Sept. 9, 1815, that the Potawatomi had delivered to him three days before, Mrs. Abey Cannon and daughter and son-in-law, John Stork, whom they had taken captive in the preceding February on the Wabash River. The captain was awaiting a favorable opportunity to return them to their friends in Kentucky. They were in good health, he said, and spoke "much of the humanity of the Indians."

The Sauk Indians of the Missouri River, who made the great cession of land west of the Illinois River in 1804, in their treaty of September 13, 1815, bound themselves to separate from the Sauk of Rock River in Illinois until the latter should enter into a treaty of peace. This was not accomplished until May 13, 1816, when representatives of the Rock River Sauk registered repentance for their bad conduct, and confirmed the treaty of cession made at St. Louis on November 3, 1804, by the Missouri band.

In order fully to comply with the obligation assumed in Article Nine, General William Henry Harrison, General Duncan McArthur, and John Graham, on June 9, 1815, were named a commission to negotiate with numerous tribes of Indians in Indiana, Ohio and Michigan, who were associated with Great Britain in the war.[41] They were expected to enter into treaties of peace with these Indians, to do all possible to alienate them from British influence, and as an inducement, to say to the Indians that the government expected to order a chain of establishments along the Illinois River from Chicago to St. Louis, where they could market their furs and secure supplies, and no longer be dependent on English traders. The Secretary of War also instructed the commissioners to do all possible to remove from the minds of the Indians the natural suspicion that the government was trying to secure more land from them.[42] The resulting treaty with eleven tribes was concluded and signed on September 8.

The treaties secured through the year 1815 with twenty-one tribes were, on December 6, by President Madison submitted to the United States Senate for ratification.[43] Securing of the treaties

[41] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," II: 13.

[42] The commissioners were told by the Secretary of War that the Indians should not be permitted to think "for a moment that Great Britain has had any peculiar agency in obtaining a benefit for the Indian tribes, whether they were at war or at peace with us;" that the United States had acted voluntarily in the negotiations. The council was held at Spring Wells, now part of Detroit. General Harrison conducted the negotiations and the Shawnee Prophet and Potawatomi Prophet were the principal speakers for the nine tribes. The former said that he was glad peace had been made and the tomahawk taken out of their hands. In the same figure of speech he said that they "were now so completely deprived of tomahawks that he was apprehensive that their old women could hardly cut wood enough to make a fire." (*Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," II: 23).

[43] *Ibid.*, 1-25. See also *Statutes at Large*, VII: 123 ff.

with the remaining tribes necessary for a full compliance with the terms of the Treaty of Ghent was not completed until the summer of 1818, when representatives of a total of thirty-four tribes, previously fighting with Great Britain against the United States, had agreed to the terms of the "Treaty of Peace and Friendship."[44]

This, on the records, concluded one of the most remarkable episodes in our history, in which our domestic Indian relations were dominated by a foreign government. But these treaties did not end entirely the meddling of British traders with our Indians. Some of them, notably the Sauk of Rock River, continued to make annual visits to Malden, on the British side of the Detroit River, where they collected from the traders merchandise bestowed on them in the name of "presents" due them for their service in the War of 1812. As late as 1827 the missionary Isaac McCoy met in Michigan a company of several hundred of these Indians returning from Malden laden with these British "presents."[45]

With the growth of white settlement and the imminence of statehood, the government discovered a lack of necessary grantors in the great land cession by the Illinois Indians,[46] in that the Peoria

[44] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," 164 ff; *Statutes at Large*, VII: 172 ff.

[45] Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (New York, 1840), 313 ff.

[46] Some question having arisen concerning the amount of country formerly occupied and claimed by the Illinois Indians, Auguste Chouteau in 1816 prepared a long account, by which he demonstrated the extent of their possessions throughout the present state of Illinois, up into Wisconsin and over into Missouri: After the northern Indians had compelled them to abandon "their residences in the delightful country which they had inhabited, it remained unoccupied by any particular Tribe till the year 1743, when a part of the Pottowatimies who resided near Detroit, together with some bands of Ottawas and Chippawas removed to it and settled themselves near Chicago, and on some parts of the Illinois river; and have continued in the uninterrupted possession thereof to the present time. This possession is presumed to have been taken conjointly by those three tribes, in consequence of their having formerly, at Michilimakinac entered into an alliance offensive and defensive, with all the Solemnities & Ceremonies usual among savages on such occasions; and of their having under that alliance contributed their joint exertions in expelling the Illinois Indians from that country which they now claim by right of conquest." The Sauk and Fox Indians, he said, hard pressed by the French and Indians north of them, left their settlement on the Wisconsin River, "gradually descended the Mississippi, & in 1764 Settled on Rock river, twenty-one years after the Potowatomies & their allies Had Settled on the Illinois river." "Notes" by Auguste Chouteau, Feb. 21, 1816, "Records of the Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Ancient and Miscellaneous Surveys," IV (The National Archives).

were not parties to it. Therefore, Governor Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau again convened these Indians at Edwardsville on September 25, 1818. On this occasion the Peoria Indians were represented and a treaty[47] was entered into, conveying the land ceded in the Kaskaskia treaty of 1803, and enlarged to cover all the lands of the Peoria Indians lying east and south of the Illinois River.[48]

By this treaty, then, except for small reservations, the Indians who gave their name to the State of Illinois were banished from that area. Within the next two years they were removed to Missouri, where, in 1832, they were induced to make another treaty[49] by which they gave up all their reservations in Illinois except a tract belonging to Ellen Ducoigne, daughter of their late chief. Within a few years they were removed to northeastern Oklahoma.

While the first Illinois legislature was assembling, the Wea were in council in Ohio, considering a cession of their lands in Illinois and Indiana. These Indians, a sub-tribe of the Miami, were not much identified with Illinois history, though they had small holdings on the eastern border of the state, extending over into Indiana. By treaties made on June 4, 1816, and October 2, 1818,[50] they sold to the United States all their lands in Indiana and Illinois, with certain reservations in Parke County, Indiana, near the mouth of Raccoon Creek on the Wabash River. In the former treaty they were joined by the Kickapoo. The lands thus conveyed lay along the eastern boundary of Illinois south of the Vermilion River, and included substantially the eastern half of the present Clark and Edgar counties and parts of Vermilion and Crawford. But in little less than two years, on August 11, 1820,

[47] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 181.

[48] The area included in this cession was estimated by the land office at 7,138,393 acres; adding to it 8,608,167 acres ceded by the Kaskaskia and others at Vincennes August 13, 1803, made a total of 15,746,565 acres ceded by the Illinois Indians. Of this area 2,101,760 acres were claimed by the Kickapoo, who included it in their cession of 1819.

[49] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 391.

[50] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 145 and 186. As the boundaries were not sufficiently defined the land office did not venture an estimate of the area in this cession.

they sold their reservation in Indiana and removed with the Piankashaw to the neighborhood of Kaskaskia in Illinois, and then to Missouri.

The Kickapoo, a branch of the Algonquian group, were first known in southern Wisconsin. On the destruction of the Illinois confederacy, about 1765, by the combined forces of the tribes north of them, the conquered country was partitioned among the victors, the Sauk and Foxes moving down to the Rock River, while the Kickapoo went farther south, fixing their headquarters for a time at Peoria. They appear gradually to have extended their range, a portion centering about the Sangamon River, while another part pressed toward the east, establishing themselves on the waters of the Wabash despite the opposition of the Miami and Piankashaw. The western band became known as the Prairie Band, while the others were denominated the Vermilion Band, from their residence on the river of that name. The Secretary of War in 1816 reported 400 warriors, or a total of 1,600 individual Indians of the Kickapoo tribe living on the heads of the Kaskaskia River. Throughout years of negotiation, carried on for various purposes, they jealously maintained their claim to the lands on the Vermilion River.

At the time Illinois was admitted to the Union (December 3, 1818) and settlers were moving into the country, a large part of the best area of the new state, included in the north half of the cession by the Kaskaskia and Peoria, was still claimed by the Kickapoo Indians, from whom no conveyance had been secured. The Secretary of War, J. C. Calhoun, then directed that steps be taken to secure a cession from these Indians, and efforts were carried on during the next spring and summer to deal with them. That familiar methods were employed is indicated by the report of an agent, who related in April, from Vincennes, that having visited them and made presents valued at two or three hundred dollars to some of the most influential members of the tribe, he was confident that they would sign the desired treaty.[51] He said

[51] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," II: 197.

that he had employed a half-blood Indian, from whom he expected to discover the situation of some copper and lead mines on the Vermilion River and Pine Creek; copper, he said, had been found in great abundance and of good quality.

Commissioners Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson began their councils with the Kickapoo at Edwardsville early in June, but encountered considerable opposition. The Indians said that their neighbors, the Potawatomi, had menaced them and threatened that if the Kickapoo signed a treaty and started to remove west of the Mississippi, they would waylay, plunder and murder them.

However, the commissioners finally reached an agreement with the Indians, who, on July 30, 1819, executed the desired treaty. A month later at Fort Harrison the "Kickapoos of the Vermilion" made a supplemental treaty with Benjamin Parke, commissioner, by which they ceded the remainder of their possessions.[52] The land thus conveyed to the United States included much of the best in central Illinois. A large portion of it the Kickapoo claimed by descent from their ancestors, and the balance by conquest from the Illinois Indians and uninterrupted possession for more than half a century. In exchange for it the United States gave them a small tract on the Osage River in southwest Missouri, promised them an annuity of $2,000 for fifteen years, to be paid in their western home, and agreed to furnish them two boats and assistance in removing to the West.

A resident of Edwardsville, on August 7, reported with much satisfaction to *Niles Weekly Register* the success of the negotiations. By the treaty, he said, the disputed claim to the Sangamon country was extinguished, and a very large additional tract of between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000 acres was acquired, "to which the title of the Kickapoo was indisputable."

This vast domain, part of which was already included in cessions of the Kaskaskia and Piankashaw, extended from the Illinois River east to the Indiana line, and from the Kankakee and Illinois

[52] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 200, 202.

rivers south to a line extending across the state from near the mouth of the Illinois River east to Robinson, Illinois, in the center of Crawford County.[53] The first contingent of Kickapoo were removed to Missouri during the following winter and spring.

Identified with Illinois history more conspicuously than any other Indians were the Potawatomi, who were to cling to the land of their nativity with greater tenacity than any other tribe, and therefore write the last chapter of Indian negotiation and occupation in Illinois. They were known at an early day around Lake Huron and the lower end of Lake Michigan. After the conquest of the Illinois Indians about 1765, they took possession of that part of the Illinois lying northeast of the country seized by the Sauk, Foxes and Kickapoo, at the same time spreading eastward over southern Michigan and gradually approaching the Wabash. Early in our federal relations, the government dealt with them substantially as three distinct tribes—those in Michigan, those in Indiana, and what became known as the prairie band of Potawatomi, in Illinois and Wisconsin.

Some of the tribe served on the side of the British in the War of 1812, and besides their participation in the massacre of Fort Dearborn they were charged with the murder of eighteen people near the mouth of the Fox River in 1812. Numerous treaties were made with the Potawatomi living in Indiana, Michigan and Ohio; but the branch of the tribe on the Illinois River was not called on to enter into the making of a separate treaty until the formal one at Portage des Sioux in 1815 under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent.

Congress, on May 6, 1812,[54] had directed that 2,000,000 acres of land in Illinois be surveyed into townships, sections and quarter sections, and made available for the location of bounty claims by non-commissioned officers and privates under recent legislation

[53] The land office estimate of the land in Illinois thus conveyed in the two cessions was 3,287,249 acres. The consolidated cession in these treaties overlapped in Illinois the cessions of 1795 at Peoria fort and at the mouth of the Illinois River; also the Kaskaskia and Peoria cessions of 1803 and 1818, and the Piankashaw cession of 1805.

[54] *Statutes at Large*, II: 728.

enacted for raising troops during the War of 1812. The land designated for this purpose, and which became known as Military Lands, was included in the cession made by the Sauk and Fox Indians in 1804, lying east of the Mississippi River and north and west of the Illinois as high as the Wisconsin River.

Because of the continued opposition and hostility of these Indians the survey was not attempted at once, and when it was got under way in 1815, there was much objection by the Potawatomi Indians of the Illinois River, who said that they had not previously heard of the action of the Sauk. They claimed it as their home, their hunting ground and their land, in spite of the deal with the Sauk and Foxes, whose right to it they denied. To adjust this situation, the Secretary of War, on May 7, 1816, instructed the commissioners, William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau, to endeavor to secure a release of their claims to the land; and in doing so, to extend the cession of the Potawatomi Indians as far east and north as the shores of Lake Michigan if possible.[55]

The "Prairie Pottowatomi," or Illinois Band, were living on the Illinois River with some of their kinsmen, the Ottawa and Chippewa, with whom, for mutual protection, they had long been united in a confederacy; but they claimed the land from the Indiana line west to Rock River, south as far as Peoria, and north into Wisconsin, though the northern boundary was not well defined; but their friendly relations with the Chippewa made that a matter of no importance.

In an effort to adjust the discontent of these Indians, and secure a relinquishment from them of the land conveyed by the Sauk and Foxes, and other lands, representatives of this confederated band were induced to attend a council in St. Louis, where, on August 24, 1816, they entered into a treaty with Clark, Edwards and Chouteau by which they relinquished to the United States that part of the land ceded by the Sauk and Foxes lying south of a line running from the southern extremity of Lake Mich-

[55] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," II: 97.

igan due west to the Mississippi River near Rock Island.

By this same treaty the Indians conveyed to the United States also the south half of Cook County, with most of the present area of Chicago, and nearly all of Will County, including Joliet and parts of Kendall, Grundy and La Salle counties, with the western termination at Ottawa, the junction of the Illinois and Fox rivers. This incorporated land needed for a projected canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Illinois River.[56]

In consideration of the cession of this princely domain, the United States agreed to deliver to the Indians, goods to the value of $1,000 annually on the Illinois River, not lower down than Peoria, and by Section Two to relinquish to them all the land contained in the Sauk and Fox cession lying north of the line running due west from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi (estimated by the government at 5,000,000 acres) except three square leagues at the mouth of the Wisconsin.

Thus, soon after Illinois became a state, the land from the southern tip extending northward much beyond the settled part, had been acquired from the Indians, who were removed from their ancestral homes to Missouri. Only in the north, where few white people lived, had the Indians not parted with the title to their land; and under the conditions that prevailed for a few years there seemed no occasion to negotiate for more. In fact, the government had announced its policy not to acquire more land from the Indians until it was demanded for white settlement.

The many tribes having been induced to cede most of their lands to the United States, they began to crowd each other in restricted areas, where the game was being depleted, and much disorder resulted. The Sauk and Foxes and the Iowa had been involved in hostilities with the Sioux for a number of years. In order, therefore, to promote peace, re-define and establish the boundaries between the various tribes in their new relations, and

[56] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 146. The land in the former Sauk and Fox cession thus relinquished by the Potawatomi treaty of August 24 was estimated by the land office at 6,004,000 acres. The additional area ceded by them including the site of Chicago was estimated at 767,411 acres.

thus remove incitement to future wars so far as possible, the government invited the Chippewa, Sauk and Foxes, Menominee, Iowa, Sioux, Winnebago, and the portions of the Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa tribes living on the Illinois River, to send representatives to a general council at Prairie du Chien. Here William Clark and Lewis Cass negotiated with them a treaty on August 19, 1825 that bore the signature (by mark, of course) of 134 Indians representing nine tribes.[57]

Only part of that treaty affected Illinois. To the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa Indians of Illinois was secured the title to the lands lying east of the Mississippi and north of Rock River that now comprise substantially all of Jo Daviess County, all but an eastern fraction of Carroll County, the western half of Whiteside County and a small fraction of Rock Island County. This was included in the land already relinquished to them in the treaty of August 24, 1816. Besides this they still owned other great tracts extending across the state to Lake Michigan, not dealt with in this treaty.

Article Five of this treaty contained some vague terms that were doubtless intended to be more comprehensible to the Indians than to anyone else; a certain line ran from "the standing cedar, about a day's paddle in a canoe" above a certain lake; thence between two lakes called by the Chippewa, Green Lakes, and by the Sioux "the lakes they bury the Eagles in;" crossing Rum River at the mouth of a small creek called "choaking creek, a long day's march from the Mississippi; thence to a point of woods that projects into the prairie, half a day's march from the Mississippi," etc. Other lines were located with reference to certain Indian villages, portages, streams, falls, high bluffs, etc.

Illinois was now beginning to grow. At the time of statehood there were about 35,000 people in the state; in 1820, there were 55,000. The settlements were still confined to the southern part of the state and areas along the rivers; but having extinguished the Indian title to the best and largest part of central Illinois, that

[57] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 272.

part of the country now invited settlers. In 1825 mail service once every week or two was extended to various interior sections: weekly from St. Louis to Vandalia; Vandalia to Sangamon Courthouse; Vincennes to Shawneetown; once a fortnight from Carrollton to Sangamon Courthouse.

For the year ending March 31, 1827, the postal receipts of Jacksonville were $134.02; Carrollton, $118; White Hall and Chicago, not listed by the post office department; Sangamon Courthouse, $160.70; Galena, $29.40. The next year there was a slight gain; White Hall came into being, and her postmaster reported receipts of $2.02; the Chicago post office was still in the future. But in 1830 Galena earned $824.54 for the post office department —more than the combined receipts of Springfield ($429.23), Jacksonville ($326.73), and Peoria ($58.12).[58]

This naturally directs attention to the rush of settlers into the northwest part of Illinois, drawn by the lead mines and the vision of riches to be obtained there. This situation was to have its influence on the immediate history of the State and her Indians.

Winnebago Indians under the leadership of a chief named Red Bird, incited to acts of violence by the killing of some of their people by the Chippewa, murdered a number of whites near Prairie du Chien in 1827. In September of that year General Henry Atkinson marched into the country with a brigade of troops, regulars and militia, arrested a number of Winnebago for their trespasses, and Black Hawk, who was charged with attacking boats passing down the Wisconsin River.

The Indians were jealous and resentful of the whites who were crowding into the lead country. As far back as 1811, Indian Agent Nicholas Boilvin of Prairie du Chien reported that the Sauk, Foxes and Iowa had mostly abandoned the chase and turned their attention to the manufacture of lead, which they produced from a mine about sixty miles below Prairie du Chien. During the preceding season, he said, they manufactured 400,000 pounds of lead which they exchanged for goods; and the Sioux also had

[58] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Post Office Dept.," 179, 209, 291.

Treaty Making at Prairie du Chien, September, 1825
From J. O. Lewis, *Aboriginal Port-Folio*

excellent lead mines in their possession.[59]

In the late twenties, the Winnebago, Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa, and Sauk and Foxes were the Indians principally interested in this part of Illinois. The rush of miners and speculators into the lead country caused much complaint by the Indians, and promised serious difficulties. Therefore the solution was to get the Indians out of their country, so that the whites could be put in possession. Accordingly, Pierre Menard and Lewis Cass were directed to hold a council at Green Bay with the Sauk, Foxes, Winnebago, Potawatomi and Chippewa Indians "for the purpose of extinguishing their title to land within the State of Illinois and the Territory of Michigan [now Wisconsin] situated between the Illinois River and the Lead Mines on Fever River in the vicinity of Lead Mines and for other purposes."

However, only a few Indians would meet with the commissioners, and those few refused to enter into an agreement for the cession of any more of their land. In view of that situation, and as a temporary expedient, by a treaty executed there on August 25, 1828, the commissioners induced the Indians present to agree to a provisional boundary, and the council adjourned. Another was held the next year when Commissioners Pierre Menard, John McNeil and Caleb Atwater called the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa Indians on the Illinois River to attend a treaty conference at Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1829.

The Indians of the Peoria agency presided over by Pierre Menard, Jr., refused to attend this council. They said the distance was too great, and they were not accustomed to treating on the lands of other Indians. And they were opposed to giving up their land anyway. However, a few of the united tribes living around Lake Michigan did attend, and on July 29 a so-called treaty was executed, signed by the commissioners and by thirty-five Indians.[60] It was witnessed by Zachary Taylor, John H. Kinzie and numerous other army officers and government employees.

[59] *Wis. Hist. Col.*, XI: 252.
[60] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 315, 320.

By the terms of this treaty the Indians were made to say that they ceded to the United States all their rich lands along the Mississippi River in Rock Island, Whiteside, Carroll and Jo Daviess counties, and extending up into Wisconsin to the Wisconsin River. The treaty conveyed also a vast tract of land bordering on Lake Michigan for six miles, including the present Evanston; the northern limit of which started at the northeast corner of the field of Antoine Ouilmette and extended ninety miles west to Rock River just south of Oregon; the southern boundary ran southwest along the north line of their previous cession of 1816, to a point about twelve miles west of Joliet, and then west 100 miles to Rock River in Henry County. Rock River was the western boundary. The more than 3,000 square miles of land in this latter cession included parts of Cook, Will, La Salle, Bureau, Henry, Whiteside, and the major parts of Du Page, Kane, DeKalb, Lee and Ogle counties.

For this vast area the United States stipulated to pay the Indians $12,000 worth of goods in the following October, "as a present," and an annuity of $16,000 to be paid at Chicago forever; also to deliver to them at Chicago fifty barrels of salt annually forever; and to provide them a blacksmith at Chicago to repair their arms and tools, and to permit them to hunt on the land granted as long as the United States continued to own it.

In spite of the fact that the Potawatomi Indians living on the Illinois River were not represented at this council, the treaty was by President Jackson submitted on December 24 to the Senate, subsequently ratified, and by the President proclaimed on January 2, 1830. The success of the negotiations was no doubt promoted by the customary procedure, the making of reservations to influential members of the tribe. Thus, on the Fox River, five sections at the Grand Bois, "where Shaytee's Village" stood, were given to Wau-pon-eh-see; four sections to Awn-kote, and one section to Francois Bourbonne, Jr.; two and a half sections on Riviere aux Pleins to Alexander Robinson; one section at the village of As-sim-in-eh-Kon or Paw-paw Grove to Pierre Leclerc. "To

Waish-kee-Shaw, a Potawatomie woman, wife of David Laughton . . . one and a half sections at the old village of Nay-ou-Say, at or near the source of the Riviere aux Sables of the Illinois." On the Chicago River, to Billy Caldwell, two and a half sections, "above and adjoining the line of the purchase of 1816;" to Victoir Pothier, one-half section, and to Jane Miranda one quarter section; to Madeline, a Potawatomi woman, wife of Joseph Ogee, one section at Paw-paw Grove. "To Archange Ouilmette, a Potawatomie woman, wife of Antoine Ouilmette, two sections, for herself and her children, on Lake Michigan, south of and adjoining the boundary of the cession" made to the United States. Other reservations were made on the Mississippi River.

The Winnebago, still owners of the land lying west of the Rock River embraced within the major parts of Stephenson, Winnebago, Ogle, and parts of Lee and Whiteside counties, and extending high up into Wisconsin, were induced to make a treaty with Pierre Menard and his associate commissioners[61] at Prairie du Chien, on August 1, 1829, two days after the treaty with the Potawatomi. By this they ceded their valuable land both in Illinois and Wisconsin to the United States, in consideration of which the government promised to pay them $18,000 annually for thirty years, and an immediate "present" of $30,000 worth of goods; and, annually for thirty years, 3,000 pounds of tobacco and fifty barrels of salt. Three blacksmith shops for the Indians, one of which was to be on the Rock River, were to be maintained by the government. The treaty also provided for reservations of forty-two sections, not in the mineral country, to favored individual Indians named in the document.

There was much complaint by the Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of the pretended treaty of 1829, made by others when they were not present nor represented, of a palpable fraud on the Indians. They had been notified that they must remove from the Illinois land, and in the autumn of that year delivered plaintive talks to their agent at Peoria, which were forwarded to

[61] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 323.

General Clark at St. Louis, and by him to the Secretary of War. One was by Senackeewanee:

> We are deprived of the land the great God has given us; we are no longer permitted to hunt on the ground allotted to us—we are ordered away from our home, from the land of our forefathers, from the land of our nativity, and doomed to misery and distress. . . . A few years past we thought ourselves happy. Our women walked along the banks of this river [Illinois] unconcerned and unmolested, and proud of the object they carried in their womb—not thinking that a then unborn generation would this day be stripped of all those things which God had so bountifully bestowed on all living creatures.

Captain Hill added his supplications:

> Ever since the war [1812], my door has been thrown open to the hat [white] man, and in return we have received abuses —twice they have driven me and taken possession of my villages on Spoon River. They have threatened to whip and shoot me and my people. . . . When one of your men was on the point of being killed at Chicago by some of my people, I saved his life; his name was Captain Hill, and it is for that reason they call me Captain Hill. Brother, they say you have taken away all my land and that we shan't hunt on them any more. That is not just. Must our women and children perish for want of meat? But I am old and do not expect to live very long. . . . I ask nothing for myself. I speak for my people—for my children. You, the Kaskaskia chief [Governor Edwards] and Chouteau told me you should be my friend.[62]

The plaintive and respectful appeals of these Indians were forwarded on September 15, 1830, to the Secretary of War by General Clark, who vouched for the truth of their representations. At that time Clark reported 856 members of this tribe in different bands living under their chiefs Senackeewanee, Captain Hill, Shickshack and Wabassee on Illinois River, Spoon River, Fox

[62] These and numerous other talks by the Indians, and official correspondence on the subject, are to be seen in *Sen. Docs.*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., no. 512, "Correspondence on Emigration of Indians" (in four volumes). See *ibid.*, II: 191, 327, 554, 701 and *passim.*

River and at Paw-paw Grove. The appeals of the Indians were ignored by official Washington for nearly a year, but on August 11, 1831, Clark again interceded with the Secretary with the request that something be done for them.

Finally, after inexcusable delay, the Secretary of War, on September 1, 1831, directed General Clark to adjust the grievances of the Indians. On his invitation a delegation boarded their canoes and descended the Illinois River to St. Louis where, after several days of consultation, Clark convinced the Indians that their case was hopeless. And when he told them he could not grant their request even to be allowed to hunt on the Sangamon or any other place in Illinois, they agreed to remove from their old home to Rock River.[63]

In the meantime there was trouble in the vicinity of the lead mines. The Sauk and Fox Indians had been divided in allegiance to their leaders, the implacable Black Hawk heading the so-called British faction that was opposed to the white people and the government. The other faction, more peaceably inclined, was headed by Keokuk, or The Watchful Fox, who, on July 15, 1830, fifteen days after the enactment of Jackson's Indian Removal Bill, at Prairie du Chien joined with other tribes in a treaty with the United States.[64] This treaty made certain adjustments desired by the whites, including the cession to the United States of a large area on the west side of the Mississippi River, thereby incurring the bitter resentment of Black Hawk and his faction, who were told that they must not again cross to the east side of the Mississippi. However, early in the spring of 1831, after using every means for reconciliation without giving up their villages, the Sauk in a body recrossed the Mississippi at Rock River to their old corn fields, and in a menacing manner took possession; for by an article of the treaty which had caused their troubles, the Indians were not obliged to leave the lands so long as they were not sold by the United States. But the settlers, often squatters, besides irritating

[63] *Sen. Docs.*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., no. 512, II: 705.
[64] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 328.

reprisals, cried out against the encroachments of the Indians, which brought military intervention by the Governor and by General Gaines.[65]

General Gaines, who arrived in June at Rock Island, had ordered six companies of regular troops to proceed from Jefferson Barracks. Here he was joined on June 25 by militia ordered out by Governor Reynolds. In the face of such odds, Black Hawk, on June 30, 1831, signed what was called a treaty, but which was never ratified as such by the Senate. Under the terms of this treaty the Indians withdrew to the west side of the Mississippi.

But the treaty was soon violated by both sides. A large number of the Menominee tribe who were sincerely attached to the United States, had been called to Prairie du Chien for a treaty conference with their agent. On the morning of July 31, 1831, two or three hours before day, a party of 80 or 100 Sauk and Foxes in their canoes passed up the river and surprised the Menominee Indians asleep in their lodges near the village of Prairie du Chien, and within a mile or two of Fort Crawford. It is said that most of the Menominee were drunk, and all but one man unarmed. Of the thirty or forty Menominee in the lodges, eight men, six women and eleven children were killed.[66]

Black Hawk's band remained on the west side of the Mississippi until April, 1832, when they crossed over again. Much excitement resulted on the frontier; people left their homes, and troops were called out to engage in what was called the Black Hawk War. Outrages were committed, both by the Indians and the whites; but it was inevitable that the Indians should suffer defeat in the end, and that Black Hawk should find himself a prisoner in the hands of the whites after many of his followers were killed.[67] The interesting and detailed story of the Black Hawk War has been written about so much that it is available in most libraries to everyone interested in Illinois history.

[65] Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I: 151; Samuel G. Drake, *The Aboriginal Races of North America* (New York, 1880), 637 ff.; George W. Smith, *A Student's History of Illinois*, 263 ff.

[66] *Sen. Docs.*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., no. 512, II: 323 ff. and 515 (*passim*) to 554.

[67] Drake, *Aboriginal Races*, 637 ff.

General Winfield Scott arrived at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, too late to participate in the campaign, but he and Governor Reynolds, on September 15 and 21, 1832, did negotiate treaties[68] of considerable importance with the Winnebago and Sauk and Fox Indians, now passing out of Illinois history. All the Indians of Illinois were now disposed of but the Potawatomi, who still had large holdings in the state. The white people were impatient to get rid of them and make their land available for settlement. On July 10, 1832, forty-five men at Shelbyville signed a memorial to the Secretary of War, calling his attention to the importance of extinguishing the Indian title to the land bordering on Lake Michigan. They said:

> If we are correctly informed, those streams running into the lake, are well calculated to propel mills, and all kinds of machinery, being beautifully diversified with timber and prairies, suitable for agriculture, and every other purpose. Were the Indian title extinguished, we venture to assert, no country in North America would settle with greater rapidity; and were a vessel wrecked on the lake, and her crew fortunate enough to get safe on shore, what advantage would they not derive from the settlement of this country? In the present situation they might perish for the want of the necessary articles to support life. The town of Chicago would derive great advantage from the settlement of this country, which would certainly facilitate a communication between the lake and the navigable waters of the Illinois River, which is so much to be desired by this northwestern country.

They suggested also that extinguishing the Indian title in northern Illinois would terminate the evil influence of the British Fur Company over the Sauk and Fox and the Potawatomi Indians.[69]

Congress, on May 28, 1830, had passed President Jackson's famous Indian Removal Bill looking to the emigration of all Indians from east of the Mississippi.[70] Steps were taken to carry this bill into effect in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and in states south

[68] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 370, 374.
[69] *Sen. Docs.*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., no. 512, III: 392.
[70] *Statutes at Large*, IV: 411.

of the Ohio River. For the purpose of extinguishing the Indian title to lands in Illinois and Indiana and Michigan Territory three commissioners were appointed on July 14, 1832. They convened a council at Camp Tippecanoe, Indiana, with Indians there designated as the "Potawatamie Tribe of Indians of the Prairie and Kaukakee," and on October 20, 1832, made a treaty with them, by which they ceded to the United States the land in eastern Illinois bounded by the Indiana line, including the southeast corner of Cook County, the most of Iroquois County, parts of Ford and Vermilion counties.[71]

Reservations of from one to five sections of land each were made to twenty-two individuals of the tribe on Thorn Creek, at Soldier's Village, Little Rock Village, Twelve-mile Grove, Hickory Grove, Skunk Grove and other places. A promise of an annuity of $15,000 for the term of fifteen years was included. Provision was made for paying $28,746 to thirty-three white men to satisfy certain claims against the Indians; and to the Indians the further sum of $45,000 in merchandise, immediately after signing the treaty. The sum of $30,000 was to be paid them at Chicago in the year 1833. An additional sum of $1,000 was to be paid to twenty-one Indians who served in the Black Hawk War on the side of the United States, to pay for horses stolen from them during their service. It was also provided that in consideration of their help in the war the Indians were to be allowed to hunt and fish on the Wabash and Sangamon rivers in the ceded land as long as it belonged to the United States.

Governor Reynolds had charged that all the Potawatomi had joined with the Sauk in hostilities against the whites, which some of the tribe deeply resented; and they were supported by officials of the Indian Department in their denials. They were not well treated by the whites, and in December, 1832, a band of 200 of the Prairie Potawatomi in a distressed condition left Illinois, crossed over into Indiana and camped near Logansport. Their neighbors spoke highly of them, and particularly their chief, Qui-

[71] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 378.

qui-to, a man of high character. The agent reported that they were strictly pious and totally abstained from the use of intoxicating liquor. They were industrious, and engaged in hunting for a living, asking of the whites only a little bread. As soon as the grass should be high enough to sustain their horses, they wished to emigrate west of the Mississippi, if the government would provide them a few horses, a little provision, a white conductor, and the agency interpreter who was an educated full-blood and a pious person, to go with them as far as the "Big Water."[72]

The commission engaged the year before had not extinguished all the Indian title in Illinois where a large tract was still owned by the Potawatomi, Chippewa and Ottawa. J. V. N. Owen, Indian agent at Chicago, was thereupon, in January, 1833, by the commissioner of Indian affairs directed to "pulse" these Indians on the subject of giving up the remainder of their lands in Indiana and Illinois and removing west of the Mississippi.[73] They were recognized as still the owners of more than a million acres of fine land in northern Illinois. Owen and A. C. Pepper, special agent for the removal of the Potawatomi Indians in Indiana, were actively engaged through the summer of 1833 in trying to organize these Indians for emigration. An exploring delegation appointed to select a site for their future home had proceeded across Illinois until within fifteen miles of St. Louis, on July 6, the alarm of cholera in that city caused them to abandon the journey.[74]

Through the summer messengers and invitations were sent out from the Chicago agency soliciting these Indians to come in and participate in another council, entailing, of course, presents, and an abundance of the kind of food that the government lavished on the Indians when trying to secure their consent to land cessions. As a result, September witnessed large numbers of Indian men, women, and children gathered at the rough little village of Chicago.

For weeks the place was crowded with Indians and hangers-

[72] *Sen. Docs.*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., no. 512, IV: 135, 136.
[73] *Ibid.*, III: 580.
[74] *Ibid.*, I: 802, 804.

on. Companies of old warriors could be seen in all directions arguing, palavering, powwowing with great earnestness. For long they seemed little inclined to convene in a regular council to consider the business for which the white men had come.

The village and its occupants presented a motley scene. The fort contained within its palisades a little knot of officers attached to the slender garrison. But the quarters were too limited to afford residence for the Indian commissioners, for whom, together with their retinue, a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river.

Finally, on September 21, after much deliberation and conferring among themselves, the Indians agreed to meet the commissioners in formal conference. The council fire was lighted under a spacious open shed on the green meadow on the opposite side of the river from that on which the fort stood. Here the negotiations continued for several days, until finally, on September 26, 1833, the treaty was formally entered into between the commissioners, George B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford, and seventy-nine Indians of the United Nation of Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi, by which they ceded to the United States their last holding in Illinois.[75]

This included all their land along the western shore of Lake Michigan extending from the lake west to the lands acquired from the Winnebago Nation at the treaty of Fort Armstrong, on September 15, 1832, bounded on the north by the country in Wisconsin lately ceded by the Menominee, and on the south by that acquired from the Potawatomi by the Treaty of Prairie du Chien, on July 29, 1829, and supposed to contain 5,000,000 acres in Illinois and adjoining Wisconsin. This land embraced all of Lake, McHenry and Boone counties, the eastern fraction of Winnebago County, and northern fractions of Ogle, DeKalb, Kane and Cook counties.

Article Two of the treaty provided:

[75] *Statutes at Large*, VII: 431. A graphic description of the scene witnessed at this council is contained in Charles Joseph Latrobe, *The Rambler in North America* (New York, 1835), II: 149 ff.

> The said Indians are to remove from all that part of the land now ceded, which is within the State of Illinois, immediately on the ratification of this treaty, but to be permitted to retain possession of the country north of the boundary line of the said State, for the term of three years, without molestation or interruption and under the protection of the laws of the United States.

This was the last Indian treaty affecting land in Illinois. Near the future Chicago, it was now becoming valuable, and for their cession the government agreed to pay individual Potawatomi, Ottawa and Chippewa Indians large sums of money in lieu of reservations, $175,000 to satisfy claims against them of traders and other persons, who doubtless (according to the practice) used their influence with the Indians to bring about the treaty. More money, probably, was paid on account of this treaty than was disbursed for all other Indian cessions of Illinois land put together.

In the early twenties numerous parties of emigrating Indians crossed the Mississippi River at Kaskaskia. Besides the Illinois or Kaskaskia and Kickapoo Indians who left the state at that time, there were parties of Delaware and Shawnee Indians from Ohio crossing Illinois, seeking a new home in the far West, where the game was more plentiful and they could escape contact with the white man. These emigrating parties were obliged to camp near Kaskaskia for months at a time while awaiting boats to ferry them across the Mississippi, and Pierre Menard was kept busy attending to these details, finding food for them, having their guns repaired and many other things that only the white father could do for them.[76]

After the enactment of Jackson's Indian Removal Bill a number of treaties were made with the Shawnee, Seneca, Delaware, Potawatomi, Wyandots and others east of Illinois. Even Seneca Indians from far-off New York emigrated to the West. These Indians are mentioned here in connection with Illinois only because they marched on various routes across this state, and for a

[76] *Am. St. Pap.*, "Ind. Aff.," II: 290 and *passim.*

few years the spectacle of these unhappy expatriates, driven from their homes and forced to seek another in a strange land, became somewhat familiar to the people along the roads pointing toward Alton, St. Louis and Kaskaskia.

In the summer of 1832 about 1,500 Wyandot, Shawnee, Seneca and Ottawa Indians of Ohio set out from their old homes for the West. They traveled in three detachments about twenty miles apart, each in charge of a conductor. They crossed Indiana and then Illinois, passing through Vandalia, one party going to Kaskaskia to cross the Mississippi, another to St. Louis, and the third to Alton.[77]

This brings us back to the Potawatomi. A company of that tribe left Logansport, Indiana on June 27, 1833, reaching Danville, Illinois on July 31. They went by Charleston, Vandalia, and eventually Alton, where, on August 14 they took a steamboat that landed them at Fort Leavenworth on August 26. The Potawatomi treaty of September 26, 1833, with amendments, was not ratified until February, 1835. It provided that after ratification of the treaty, the Indians should immediately remove from the ceded land in Illinois. They were permitted to retain possession of that conveyed by them north of the Illinois boundary, that is to say in Michigan Territory (now Wisconsin) for three years; but in March, 1835, preparations were begun and in the course of the summer a party of about 1,000 emigrants were removed from Illinois to northwest Missouri.[78]

In the spring of 1836 operations were resumed and 712 more Potawatomi Indians from Chicago left to join those who had preceded them. Four hundred and seventy-nine more were emigrated in 1837, but the remainder were so reluctant to leave their old home that only 151 could be induced to go in the early part of 1838. Later, in August of that year, a party of 900 were forcibly rounded up in Indiana, and they took their departure on Septem-

[77] *Sen. Docs.*, 23 Cong., 1 sess., no. 512, IV: 77 ff.

[78] T. Hartley Crawford, commissioner of Indian affairs, to Secretary of War, Feb. 6, 1839, "Report on Potawatomi Emigration, Records of the Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Council Bluffs file" (The National Archives).

ber 4. Twenty-six wagons and 286 horses were provided for the baggage of the emigrants and the very young and old persons in the party. On Sunday, the sixteenth, they crossed the line into Illinois and camped at Danville. By now many of the emigrants were sick, at times more than a hundred at once, and one or two persons died every day, a rate that was maintained during the more than three weeks it took them to cross the state.

The weather was hot and dry; the dust was stifling and the farther they got into what they called the Great Prairie of Illinois the scarcer and more unwholesome became the water. Their route lay by the Sangamon River, on which they made several successive camps. Along this stream the conductor noted Sangamon Crossing, Pyatt's Point, and Decatur where they camped on the twenty-sixth. The next night they were at Long Point. During the past three days the men had been hunting along the route through the prairies and brought in so much game, that the conductor found it unnecessary to issue government rations.

On Saturday, the twenty-ninth, they passed through Springfield. For this occasion they rose early, decked themselves out in their best and marched in good order, as the conductor said, with an unusual display of finery and gaudy trumpery through the streets of Springfield. So many curious spectators crowded the highways in the town as to threaten the progress of the emigrants. However, they got safely through and continued their march for seventeen miles. The next day they camped at Island Grove, whence they traveled another seventeen miles on October 1, ending the day's journey at Jacksonville. That evening they were the objects of much curious interest by visitors from the village. At night the Jacksonville band came to the camp and treated the Indians to a serenade—an interesting innovation in their lives.

In the morning, in response to invitations of citizens who wished to gratify their consuming curiosity and desire to have a close view of the visitors, the Indians were marched into the public square. Here they remained fifteen or twenty minutes while the citizens of Jacksonville made them presents of tobacco and

pipes in abundance, to the great delight of the Indians, who were much touched by this evidence of compassion for their unfortunate condition.

With the band playing at their head, they marched around the square and then continued for sixteen miles to camp at Exeter. The next day they continued to Naples on the Illinois River, which at noon they began crossing, and by nine o'clock at night they were all in camp on the west bank. Here they remained during the next day to make and repair moccasins, bathe, wash their blankets and clothes, and make ready to continue the journey.

They left Naples on October 5 in the direction of Quincy. In Pike and Adams counties the water continued scarce and unwholesome; they found little game, sickness continued and a child or two died nearly every day. At Quincy a steam ferry was ready to put them over the Mississippi, but it required two days to transport the whole company. During the detention here four more children died; but after having necessary repairs made on their wagons they departed on October 11 for their destination near Independence, Missouri, 213 miles farther, where they arrived on November 8.[79]

Perhaps the best known migration of Indians witnessed by Illinois was that of the Cherokee. Starting from Tennessee in the autumn of 1837, a party of 365 conducted by B. B. Cannon, passed through Illinois and reached the Indian Territory the last of December. The next year the main body of the tribe, numbering about 13,000 in thirteen companies began their migration early in October. One hundred and one years ago they crossed the Ohio River at Golconda, traversed the lower part of Illinois and crossed the Mississippi near Cape Girardeau into Missouri.[80]

After a wretched journey of nearly six months, the Cherokee arrived in the Indian Territory, their new home, with the loss of nearly 4,000 who died during detention in concentration camps

[79] "Journal of an Emigrating Party," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, No. 4 (Dec., 1925), 315 ff.

[80] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, Okla., 1932), 229, 280 and *passim*.

and on the march. This movement of the most intelligent and progressive of all the Indians, called by the victims of that sordid enterprise, the Trail of Tears, comprehends the whole miserable, miserable catalogue of sorrow, pathos and cruelty imposed on the Indians east of the Mississippi who stood in the way of the white man's progress and greed.

THE HANKS FAMILY IN MACON COUNTY, ILLINOIS (1828-1939)

A BIOGRAPHICAL DIRECTORY

By EDWIN DAVID DAVIS*

I. WILLIAM HANKS, SR.

William Hanks, Sr. was born in Virginia, a son of Joseph and Ann Lee Hanks. In 1784 Joseph Hanks mortgaged his farm in Hampshire County, now West Virginia and moved to Kentucky. On February 28, 1787, Joseph purchased a contract of sale of land in Nelson County, Kentucky. On January 8, 1793 he made a will appointing his wife "Nanny," executrix, and his son, William, executor. He left to William "one gray horse called Gilbert." On September 12, 1793, William Hanks, Sr. was married to Elizabeth Hall, a sister of Levi Hall, by the Reverend Joseph Dodge. As executor of his father's will, William sold the farm to Joseph Nevelt, taking in exchange a treasury warrant for which, on July 17, 1810, he received a patent to land in Grayson County, Kentucky, near the Falls of Rough Creek. His children were probably born here. Certainly John Hanks was.[1]

In 1828 William Hanks, Sr. moved to what is now Harristown Township, of which he is said to have been the first settler. On July 29, 1829 he entered the W ½ of the NE ¼, Sec. 22, T 16

* The author, a resident of Macon County, Illinois has long been interested in the record of the Lincolns and their relatives in that county.

[1] William E. Barton, *The Lineage of Lincoln* (Indianapolis, 1929), 187-89, 210, 325, 378; William E. Barton, *The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln* (N. Y., 1920), 405; *History of Macon County, Illinois*, published by Brink, McDonough & Co. (Edwardsville, 1880), 183; Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, *Nancy Hanks* (N. Y., 1899), 47; Ward H. Lamon, *The Life of Lincoln* (Boston, 1872), 143.

R 1 East of 3 P.M. and on December 2, 1835 he entered the SE ¼ of the SW ¼, Sec. 15, T 16 N, R 1 East of 3 P.M. both now in Harristown Township, Macon County, Illinois. He was called on the grand jury in 1832. In 1834 he was allowed seventy-five cents for damage sustained by a pauper. On September 15, 1840 the township overseer of the poor reported to the Macon County commissioners an agreement with William Hanks, Sr., for the support of Ann Lee, a poor person.

> March Term, 1841—Ordered that William Hanks Sr. be allowed $23.33 for keeping Ann Lee from the 7 day of Aug. up to the 1 of March 1841. June Term, 1841—Ordered that William Hanks be allowed the sum of $18.33 for keeping Ann Lee. Sep. Term, 1841—Ordered that William Hanks be allowed $8.34 in full for keeping Ann Lee.

No one seems to know about Ann Lee. William Hanks's mother was Ann Lee, who died in Virginia after 1794.

Elizabeth Hall Hanks was buried in the Millersburg Cemetery, Pleasant Grove Township, Des Moines County, Iowa. No marker was found. She must have died between October 11, 1844 and May 5, 1846.[2] On the latter date, William Hanks, Sr. was in Iowa, but on March 20 and April 17, 1848 he was back in Macon County, Illinois. He voted in Decatur in 1838 and 1842. He died in Sangamon County in 1851 or 1852 and was buried in the Gouge Cemetery on Section 22 east of the farm he entered in 1829. The grave is unmarked. William Hanks, Sr. was a brother of Lucy Hanks, Abraham Lincoln's grandmother.[3]

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[2] Brink (pub.), *History of Macon County*, 183; Mabel E. Richmond, *Centennial History of Decatur and Macon County* (Decatur, 1930), 430-31; Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 189, 325; Original Land Entry Book (Macon Co. Recorder, Decatur), 47, 50; Commissioners' Books (Macon Co. Clerk), 1: 42, 109; 2: 4, 14, 22, 28; estate papers, Joseph Hanks, Boxes 5, 115 (Macon Co. Clerk); estate, William Hanks, Jr., Boxes 5, 122; deeds (Macon Co. Recorder), Book J: 499; letter of Dunham Wright to Frank Sawyer, Decatur.

[3] Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1829-1842 (Macon Co. Clerk); letter of Jack Taggart to Frank Sawyer; Original Land Entry Book, 47, 50.

II. NANCY HANKS MILLER

In my sketch entitled "Lincoln and Macon County, Illinois, 1830-1831," published in 1932, it was my purpose to tell—in addition to the few incidents that are known of Lincoln, the one year he lived in Macon County, Illinois—who the people were, where they lived and if the houses and people could be proved to be here at the time and place as stated. I had more trouble identifying Mrs. Nancy Miller than anyone else as I found her placed in the wrong family two or three times. Howells mentioned Nancy Miller, though not by name, in a footnote:

> Mr. George Close, the partner of Lincoln in the rail-splitting business, says that . . . . Lincoln and Mr. Close made about one thousand rails together for James Hawks [James Hanks] and William Miller, receiving their pay in homespun clothing. Lincoln's bargain with Miller's wife, was, that he should have one yard of brown jeans (richly dyed with walnut bark), for every four hundred rails made, until he should have enough for a pair of trowsers.

At the time of writing the above-mentioned article, I knew nothing of the Howells volume. Holland called her "Mrs. Nancy Miller," so he had information from someone, probably George Close—he calls him George Cluse. George Close—spelled Clos on the tally sheet—voted in the log courthouse in Decatur, Illinois on August 2, 1830. He was about the forty-first voter; William Miller was the seventeenth voter at the same time and place.[4]

This story of Nancy Miller is repeated in many lives of Lincoln, without any hint of who she was. I was told that the one who wove the cloth was Nancy, the daughter of Christopher Miller. She was at the right location in 1830, but she was Miss Nancy Miller—if it was not Mary Miller—at that time. I considered Nancy Hanks, the daughter of James Hanks; she was young but

[4] Edwin Davis, "Lincoln and Macon County, Illinois, 1830-1831," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 25, no. 1-2 (April-July, 1932), 63-107; W. D. Howells, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (reprinted by Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill., 1938), xiv, 24; J. G. Holland, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Mass., 1866), 41; Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1829-1835.

not too young to weave, and that she did weave was remembered by kin, and proved by a bill for weaving against the estate of her father, James Hanks. I was getting a little warm as she may have helped her mother weave the cloth told of in the Howells footnote, but she was not Nancy Miller until 1838 when she married Abe Miller. So she was out. Then a certain gentleman told H. W. Fay, custodian of the Lincoln Tomb at Springfield, that his ancestor was *the* Nancy Miller, and gave him a photograph of her. After some research she proved to be the former Mary Braden, a member of a well-known family in Macon County. But in 1830-1831 Mary Braden was the wife of Henry Wheeler, brother of William Wheeler who was sheriff of Macon County for many years. In 1834 Mrs. Mary Braden Wheeler married David (not William) Miller. So she was out.[5]

Then the first hint of the truth came in a letter from Mrs. John T. Manon, daughter of John Hanks, in which she said that Nancy, the sister of John and William Hanks, married a Mr. Miller. As I had already found a deed from William Miller and his wife Nancy Miller, as well as their names as witnesses on the will of William Hanks, Jr., joined with Andrew J. Hanks and John D. Wright, I was confident that at last I had found the true Mrs. Nancy Miller. Then *Lincoln Lore* published the Howells version, with the name "William Miller" in it and the name "James Hawks" changed to James Hanks. This change in the name agreed with my opinion, for I had known, as the records in Decatur testify, that the names Hanks and Hawks are still, in spite of some errors that I was instrumental in changing, badly muddled in the Macon County records. The first direct evidence was a letter from Mary Ellen Manon to my friend Frank Sawyer saying: "Mr. Miller's given name is William. His wife is my aunt, Father's sister."

Then, too late to get in my sketch, published in 1932, evidence came in thick and fast. Dunham Wright of Medical Springs,

[5] John W. Smith, *History of Macon County, Illinois* (Springfield, 1876), 45-47, 60, 268, 294; estate papers, James Hanks, Box 7, File 171; Fred L. Holmes, *Abraham Lincoln Traveled this Way* (Boston, 1930), 47-48.

Oregon, Mrs. Nancy Hanks Miller's nephew and a first cousin to Mrs. Manon, wrote to Frank Sawyer and knew all about her, who she was, whom she married, where she moved, about the weaving, the names of her children, and where she was buried; in fact he knew her personally. The things he told of the Hanks family in Macon County nearly always proved correct when the records were looked up. By this time I was, as Kipling says, "full of satiable curiosity." So in 1935, following Mr. Wright's tip, I went to Des Moines County, Iowa. And there, sure enough, in the old Millersburg Cemetery in Pleasant Grove Township, I found the graves of William Miller and his wife Nancy Miller. I called on Mrs. Henry Hanks of New London, Iowa, the widow of Henry, son of Andrew J. Hanks. She knew Nancy Miller and confirmed much of the data in Dunham Wright's letters to Frank Sawyer. She directed me to the home of Jennie and Marie Redfearn, great-granddaughters of Nancy Miller. They showed me fine pictures of William and Nancy Miller, also of their son William and his wife. They kindly offered to let me have Nancy's picture to have a copy made but for fear something would happen to it, I declined their offer. We did get good snapshots of the markers on the graves of William, Nancy and Andrew J. Hanks. The first two read as follows: "William Miller. Died March 8, 1870, aged 74 years 5 months 24 days. . . . Nancy Miller—Wife of William Miller —born June 13, 1794, died Feb. 17, 1873."[6]

Nancy was the oldest child of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks and was born in Kentucky. She and her hus-

[6] William Miller, Jr. was not a son of William Miller as I once thought. They went to Iowa about the same time (1836-1838). William Miller, Jr. married Elisa Ann Miller. See Deed Books A: 132 and H: 137; William Miller, 3rd, was the son of Christopher Miller. He was born in Grayson Co., Ky. in 1809 and came to Macon Co., Ill. in 1829. He entered the W ½ of the NE ¼, Sec. 24, 16 N, R 1 east of the 3rd P.M. in the name of William Miller, 3rd. He and his wife Mahalia Miller were in Macon Co. on Jan. 28, 1842 and in DeWitt Co. on March 25, 1854. I think he taught the first school in Harristown Township, in the Miller log schoolhouse, in 1829-1830. It was used as a voting place in the thirties and forties. William, 3rd, is said to have died at the home of his brother, James Miller, and was buried in the Wykle Cemetery. See Deed Books, I: 343 and P: 341; Marriage records, Macon Co. Clerk; Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 404; *Lincoln Lore*, no. 70 (Aug. 11, 1930).

band, William Miller, Sr., came directly to Illinois, instead of going by the Lincoln neighborhood in Indiana. On January 1, 1830, William Miller entered the E ½ of the SE ¼, Sec. 15, T 16 N, R 1 East of 3 P.M. In 1829 this farm was used as a landmark in making a new road from Sadorus Grove west to Decatur, "through the north side of William Miller's farm in the direction of Long Point." William was called on the first and second grand juries. On August 1, 1831 three William Millers voted in Decatur —the tally sheet had it marked before the names 1, 2 and 3. William Miller and William Miller, Jr. were called on the petit jury in 1831. William Miller, Sr. was called on the petit jury on September 24, 1832, but did not serve; he was called on the grand jury in 1834-1835. William Miller, Jr. was appointed supervisor of roads in District 1 in the March term, 1834. William Hanks, Jr. was supervisor in this district in 1831.[7] William Miller, Sr. and two other William Millers voted at the courthouse in Decatur on August 4, 1834. The first election held in the Decatur Precinct was held in the home of Parmenius Smallwood, where St. Teresa's Academy now stands. The judges were William, Isaac, and Tobias Miller, and the clerks were Doris Stevens and John Miller. I think this was William Miller, Sr., husband of Nancy Hanks Miller. William Miller, Jr. nearly always added the Junior to his name and William Miller the third was not of age on that date (June 20, 1829).

William Miller the third entered one tract as "William the 3rd," but usually he was known only as William Miller. The only way to tell them apart is by their wives' names on transfers of land. On December 25, 1837 William Miller the third voted in Decatur—William Miller, Sr. and probably William Miller, Jr. were then in Iowa. There was a William Miller in Captain Isaac Pugh's rangers: I think this was William Miller, Sr. but so far have not proved it. On October 15, 1835, William and Nancy Miller sold eighty acres of land to William Gouge and in 1836, with

[7] Paul M. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln* (Boston, 1930), 253-54; Original Land Entry Book, 47; Commissioners' Book 1: 7, 14, 35, 50, 118, 136; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 35, 36, 431.

John D. and Celia Hanks Wright, went to Pleasant Grove Township, Des Moines County, Iowa. Here they lived, acquired land, and are buried.[8]

The children of William Miller, Sr. and Nancy Hanks Miller were (according to Dunham Wright and Mrs. Henry Hanks):

1. WILLIAM, born in Macon County, Illinois, August 3, 1830, died in Iowa, September 3, 1917. Married Emmarancy ———, born June 3, 1835, died August 13, 1919.
2. CHARLES.
3. JOHN.
4. LUCETTA, married a Mr. Chandlier, said to have lived in Danville, Illinois.
5. FIELDING.
6. MAHALIA, married a Mr. Mathias.

Mrs. Henry Hanks adds two more names:

7. CELIA, also married a Mr. Mathias.
8. JOEL.

Then Dunham Wright adds two names:

9. REBECCAH.
10. LUCRETIA.

III. JAMES HANKS

James Hanks, oldest son of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born in Kentucky about the year 1795. There is some doubt about the exact date. In a sketch of James Hanks's son, Andrew J. Hanks, the date is given as 1790. This is at least four years too soon to agree with the United States census of 1810. *Lincoln Lore* gives it as 1794. This is nearer right, but if so he was a twin of Nancy Hanks Miller, born June 13, 1794. All the relatives of James Hanks who were asked are sure he was not a twin. The marker on his grave is badly eroded but the custodian, Mr. Braden, reads it as follows: "James Hanks. Died Jan. 8, 1852, aged 56 years, 11 months, 15 days." This would make the

[8] Grave markers; Deed Record A: 205; letters of Dunham Wright to Frank Sawyer; *ante*, note 6; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 126.

date January 23, 1795—only 7 months and 10 days after the birth of Nancy Hanks Miller and 11 months and 27 days before the birth of his brother William Hanks, Jr.

James Hanks and Rebeckah Atherton were married in Kentucky in 1813. As she was born in 1802 she was only eleven years old when she was married—rather young even for Kentucky, but a girl of ten was reported to have been married there in 1938. With his wife and children, James Hanks came to Illinois in a two-wheel cart. He told his grandson, Irvin Heckel, of the wild animals prowling and howling around the campfires at night.[9] James Hanks is said to have been the sixth man to build in Macon County but I doubt this. On December 12, 1833 he entered the NE ¼ of the NW ¼, Sec. 33, T 17 N, East of 2 P.M., now in Hickory Point Township, Macon County, Illinois. He entered other tracts later. He built his cabin of round unhewn logs northeast of Boiling Springs. He farmed, made shoes for his own family and hickory baskets to sell in the towns. His wife wove cloth for Lincoln in exchange for work. James Hanks was called on the first and second grand juries and on September 24, 1832 was on the grand jury which brought in the indictment against the horse thieves Thomas Wyatt and William Robinson, alias William Redmon. (See Section VI of this article on Joseph Hanks). He was called as a petit juror in 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1841. He was road boss in District Four in 1841. James Hanks and his son Isaac voted against Lincoln in 1840 as an elector on the Whig ticket. James also voted against him in 1844.[10]

James Hanks died on January 8, 1852 and was buried on a bluff in Hickory Point Township overlooking a branch of Stevens Creek. His body and some of his infant children's were later re-

[9] *Lincoln Lore*, April 28, 1930, gives the marriage date as 1817; see also *ibid.*, June 13, 1938; Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 378; Louis Austin Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage & Childhood* (N. Y., 1926), 215; William E. Nelson, *City of Decatur and Macon County* (Chicago, 1910), II: 110; interview with Irvin Heckel; grave markers.

[10] Original Land Entry Book, 151; Commissioners' Books, I: 7, 14, 36, 50, 118, 137; III: Probate Court Records AAA: 13, 49, 58; Circuit Court Records, Book A; Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1829-1844; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 32, 35.

moved to Greenwood Cemetery, Decatur, Illinois. His wife, who died in 1888, aged 86 years, was also buried in Greenwood.

James and Rebeckah Atherton Hanks had thirteen children. They were:

1. ISAAC, married to Elizabeth C. Cox, November 5, 1840 by Isaac Pugh, justice of the peace; married (second) to Emma Abrams, September 17, 1854 by the Reverend R. Henson. Isaac died January 16, 1866, aged 47 years, 8 months, 11 days, and is buried west of Decatur on the north side of U. S. Route 36 in Wykle Cemetery. Some of his children are also buried there.

2. NANCY, married to Abraham Miller, August 2, 1838 by Isaac Pugh, justice of the peace ; married (second) to Andrew S. Muirhead, May 27, 1852 by the Reverend Robert Henson.

3. ELIZABETH JANE (BETSY), born in Hardin County, Kentucky, April 23, 1822, died February 2, 1892. She was married to Joseph Heckel, May 3, 1840 by Isaac Pugh, justice of the peace. Both Elizabeth and her husband died in Long Creek Township, and are buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Decatur, Illinois, close to James Hanks.

4. MARY, died at an early age, buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Decatur, Illinois.

5. JOHN LEWIS, died at an early age, buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Decatur, Illinois.

6. SUSAN, died at an early age, buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Decatur, Illinois.

7. LUCINDA JANE, married to Jacob Hauser, February 25, 1852, by the Reverend Crissey. She married again.

8. WILLIAM B. ("Gold Bill"), married to Adeline Wigle, September 22, 1853, by the Reverend W. S. Crissey. She died April 7, 1888, aged 55 years, 4 months, 10 days. Her husband died November 10, 1892, aged 58 years, 9 months, 18 days. Both are buried in Boiling Springs Cemetery.

9. ANDREW JACKSON, born 1835, died 1918. Married to Martha Emeline Hunter, October 2, 1872, by the Reverend William L. Bankson. She was born in 1849, died in 1934. Both

Andrew and Martha are buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Decatur, Illinois. Infant children are also buried there.

10. MARGARET.

11. SARAH M., married to Webster (or Wesley) Calhoun, February 3, 1859, by William S. Crissey.

12. REBECCAH ELLEN, married to John William Tyler, son of the Reverend John W. Tyler, December 5, 1860, by the Reverend William Crissey. John William, a harness-maker, had a club foot.

13. MARTHA EMELINE, born near Boiling Springs, Hickory Point Township, Macon County, Illinois, February 29, 1848. Died January 10, 1939 in Chicago, Illinois at the home of Mrs. Nellie Bridges Weikel, buried in Macon County. Married to Benjamin H. Righter, April 11, 1875, by the Reverend N. S. Hayns; married (second) to William A. Bridges, January 29, 1884, by the Reverend John W. Tyler.[11]

IV. WILLIAM HANKS, JR.

William Hanks, Jr., the third child of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born in Kentucky in 1796. He married Mary (or Polly) Quin who was born about the year 1800. He brought his family direct to Illinois, not going by the Lincoln place in Indiana. William Hanks, Jr. entered on March 21, 1829 an eighty-acre tract which is now in that part of Decatur roughly bounded on the north by the Wabash Railroad, on the east by Union Street, on the south by Wood Street, and on the west by Monroe Street. His cabin was on what is now 452 West Main Street, and, according to tradition, Lincoln made it his stopping place when he came to Decatur.[12] It is said that he used to sprawl in the shade of the trees just north of the cabin when reading.

[11] Marriage records; grave markers; letter of Jack Hanks to Frank Sawyer; *Decatur Review*, May 5, 1938.

[12] Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 189; Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 254; Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 404; estate papers of: William Hanks, Jr., Boxes 5, 122; Mary Hanks, Boxes 6, 148; Joshua B. Hanks, Boxes 19, 539; Julia A. Hanks, Boxes 190, 2,855; Jesse W. Hanks, Boxes 83, 1,320 (all in County Clerk's office); grave markers; *Decatur Herald*, Nov. 22, 1929; interview with H. I. Baldwin.

Hewed walnut logs from the cabin are used as stringers in the house now standing there (1939). In 1834 the commissioners used his farm as a landmark in laying out a new road from Decatur to intersect the old Springfield Road between Freeman's Branch and Smith's Mill: it joined the old road not far from where the Bethlehem Parsonage now stands. Lincoln and John Hanks brought corn to be ground at this mill, in the winter of the "Deep Snow," 1830-1831.

William Hanks, Jr. was the first man to vote at the first election in the log courthouse in Decatur on August 2, 1830 and his brother Charles was the second. William was the first to trade in the Renshaw store, as noted in the old daybook. At the first commissioners' court he was appointed supervisor of Road District Number One, which included all roads north of the Sangamon River. He was named again on March 2, 1830, and March 7, 1831, though the district was smaller. It was "all that scope of country east of Stevens' Creek and west of Range 3, including the settlement of Randolph Rose and John Hanks, and one half way to Salt Creek." William Hanks, Jr. was a ranger in Captain Isaac Pugh's company in the Black Hawk War. He was called to serve on the petit jury on April 30, 1832 at the same time that his father William Hanks, Sr. was called on the grand jury.[13]

He sold his eighty acres and some other land to the Reverend William Crissey, and it is said that his wife would not sign the deed until she received a new dress. When I wrote my sketch, "Lincoln and Macon County, Illinois 1830-1831," I thought that his second home in Macon County was east of the Sangamon River but I have since then changed my opinion.

On January 25, 1836 he entered a tract, part of which is now east of Lake Decatur, some under the Lake, and just a small lot on the west bank. Mrs. Mary Ellen Manon wrote to Frank Sawyer that William Hanks, Jr. lived four miles east of Decatur. This farm near Beverly Heights is about that when figured by the old

[13] Smith, *History of Macon County*, 60, 145; Commissioners' Books; Renshaw's daybook, *Decatur Herald*, March 6, 1914; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 36, 38.

Cow Ford or Emerson's Ford but is nearer by way of Anderson's Ford. Hanks's children went to the school in that district. But on July 11, 1836 he bought from Isaac and Elizabeth Veech the E ½ of the NE ¼, Sec. 7, and the E ½ of the SW ¼, Sec. 8, both in 16 N, R 3 east of 3 P.M. Isaac Veech was living on Section 7 about a quarter of a mile north of Spangler's Cemetery and his son Andrew Veech was born there on April 13, 1836. In February, 1879, Andrew Veech married Rebecca J. Heckel, a granddaughter of James Hanks. His older brother, George Veech, married her sister Louisa Heckel in 1860. The assessed value of $400 on this eighty acres in contrast to the $240 on the eighty in Section 8 seems to show that the improvements were still on Section 7 in 1850. These two tracts of eighty acres each were the "home farm" of William Hanks, Jr. left by will to his widow Mary as "long as she lived and remained his widow." She died in 1848 and to comply with the will the "home farm" was sold on the premises on September 8, 1849 at auction by the Reverend John W. Tyler for $1,130 to Jesse W. Hanks.[14]

The old Spangler road went east and west through the middle of the tract on Section 8 north of the present home of Moses Nickey; this explains the outlet to the two-acre tract near the barn of Nickey that Jesse W. Hanks sold on March 31, 1854 to "Uncle Ben" Berkshire, the first free negro to live in Macon County. On January 4, 1864, Ben sold this tract to the Reverend John Myers a "hard-shelled" Baptist for $120, with an even $100 profit. Later, "Uncle Black Ben" lived about a quarter of a mile east of Brush College Cemetery—as Spangler's Cemetery is commonly called.

William Hanks, Jr. agreed to pay Walter Robin for two scholars at $3.35 per scholar for tuition to a school to commence on the third Monday in October, 1843. This round, unhewn log schoolhouse was about one-eighth mile northwest of the present Excelsior School and was called the Ehrhart or Spangler's Mill

[14] *Decatur Herald*, Nov. 22, 1929; Deed Books G: 1, 155 and O: 12, 79, 255, 369, 472; Original Land Entry Book, 50, 125, 208; *ante*, note 12.

District School. It was this school that the Decatur School—Mr. Triplet was the teacher—challenged to a spelling match. J. H. Triplet was a Whig and voted for Lincoln as elector in 1844. My father, Sylvester C. Davis, was one of the "small fry" allowed to break the ice: then his older brother was put up. "William was in 'fine fettle' that night, and defended the honor of the country school against all comers." Walter Robin did not have to put up his best speller, Clementine Davis, the sister of William.[15]

William Davis was the first white child born in Long Creek Township, and is said to have been the second in the present scope of Macon County. He married Sarah Nicholson, an aunt of Meredith Nicholson, author, lecturer, and diplomat, now ambassador to Nicaragua. Samuel W. S. Hansen seems to have taught this school in 1845 or 1846 and brought in a bill against the estate of William Hanks, Jr. for $10 for two scholars for two terms. The bill was given to John Rucker to collect. This he did, with $1.15 deducted as state funds. Joshua B., Jesse W., and Huldah Hanks were all of school age in 1843, though Joshua was rather old. Of John Dunham Hanks, his mother in her verbal will, said: "Dunham . . . he is little, the youngest, and has no schooling." All the three sons could write their own names and so could their wives except Martha, wife of Jesse, who made her mark in some cases at least. William Hanks, Jr. had his will drawn while on a visit to Des Moines County, Iowa on November 1, 1843. The witnesses were William Miller, Andrew J. Hanks, John D. Wright and Nancy Miller—her mark. I think Wright also wrote the will.

William Hanks, Jr. voted at the Macon County Courthouse in 1830, 1831, 1838, and 1842. In 1840 and 1844 he voted against Lincoln as an elector on the Whig ticket. He was the go-getter of

[15] My father, Sylvester Davis, tells about a meeting at the Antioch "Campbellite" Church. When the Rev. John W. Tyler called for "joiners" Uncle Ben came forward. Tyler, a gentleman from Kentucky, told Ben to take a seat and that was that. My mother was afraid the first time she saw "Black Ben" but he told her he would not think of hurting such a pretty little black-eyed girl. See Jane Martin Johns, *Personal Recollections* (Decatur, 1912), 261-62, quoting the Rev. N. M. Baker; Bessie M. Lindsey, "Long Creek Township in Macon County, Illinois" (mimeographed, 1929-1932), 100, 103; interviews with Mary Swartz, Judge John McCoy, and Mrs. Irvin Heckel; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 8, 1939.

the Hanks family in Macon County. He had land in Long Creek, Decatur, and Harristown townships in Macon County, Illinois and also in Pleasant Grove Township, Des Moines County, Iowa. At a sale of his personal property at auction the Reverend John W. Tyler sold a buffalo bull calf to Joseph Davis for $14. Fleta Davis, of the Public Library, Decatur, Illinois is his great-granddaughter. William died on January 10, 1846, aged fifty years. His wife died on December 25, 1848, aged forty-eight years. Both are buried in Spangler's Cemetery. Their children, Hulda and Joshua B., and some of Joshua's children are also buried here. Jacob Spangler was named as the executor of the will of William Hanks, Jr. in Illinois and John D. Wright in Iowa.

The children of William Hanks, Jr. and Mary Quin Hanks were:[16]

1. JOSHUA B., married to Julia Stanfield, November 6, 1845, by the Reverend James Herrall; died April 3, 1864, aged 37 years. Joshua was supervisor of Harristown Township in 1862 and seems to have died in that township. His home was in Section 15.

2. JESSE W., born March 24, 1832, died September 24, 1882. Married to Martha Campbell, March 4, 1850, by the Reverend John W. Tyler; married (second) to Louisa Nye, January 3, 1882 by the Reverend Mr. Tyler. His first wife was born January 7, 1831, died December 21, 1880. She and Jesse are buried in Union Cemetery near Oreana, Illinois.

3. HULDAH, died December 1, 1845, aged 14 years, 10 months.

4. JOHN DUNHAM, married to Sarah E. Boswell, November 18, 1857, by the Reverend Mr. Bunn. John D. enlisted in the 116th Illinois Infantry, August 12, 1862. He went to California and became a stage-driver. Married again there. John D. and Sarah Hanks had two daughters who married in Macon County, Illinois: Marguerite, married to John C. Watkins, December 12,

[16] Marriage records; grave markers, Spangler's Cemetery; affidavit by David Hanks, son of Jesse W. Hanks, pp. 79, 255 (Macon Co. Recorder). See also *ante*, note 12.

1879 by Ira B. Curtis, justice of the peace, and Ida B., married to Lewis E. Wills, February 18, 1880 by the Reverend Mr. Bunn.

V. CHARLES HANKS

Charles Hanks, son of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born in Kentucky. In a letter to John Hanks, Lincoln wrote:

> Once, a year or two before I came to Illinois, Charles, with some others, had been back to Kentucky, and returning to Illinois, passed through our neighborhood in Indiana. He stopped, I think, but one day, (certainly not as much as three); and this was the first time I ever saw him in my life, and the *only* time, till I came to Illinois, as before stated. The year I passed in Macon County I was with him a good deal—mostly on his own place, where I helped him at breaking prairie, with a joint team of his and ours, which in turn, broke some on the new place we were improving.

John Hanks, in his statement, added:

> Lincoln broke up fifteen acres of land. Abraham and myself split the rails; he owned four yoke of oxen; broke prairie in the summer: broke thirty acres for my brother; he broke prairie for others. Two yoke belonged to Thomas Lincoln and two to my brother.[17]

On October 24, 1830, Charles Hanks entered the W ½ of the SW ¼, Sec. 14, T 16 N, R 1 E of the 3 P.M., Macon County, Illinois. It was doubtless on this eighty-acre tract—the north end—that Lincoln helped plow. On December 2, 1835, Charles Hanks entered the W ½ of the NW ¼ of Sec. 23, T 16 N, R 1 E of 3 P.M. This tract, like the first, was in what is now Harristown Township, Macon County, Illinois. The second tract is south of the first and just across the section line from the Gouge Cemetery in Section 22, where Charles's father, William Hanks, Sr., and his brother, Joseph Hanks, are buried.

[17] Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 189; *Lincoln Lore*, April 28, 1930; Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 253; *The Hidden Lincoln; From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon*, ed. by Emanuel Hertz (N.Y., 1938), 347.

Charles Hanks was the second man to vote in the log courthouse at an election held on August 2, 1830. In 1830 he was supervisor of his road district. He was called on the grand jury at the September term, 1832, but did not serve. He was called on the petit jury in 1834, 1835 and 1841. On February 16, 1857, he was still in Macon County. But on October 28, 1857 he was living in Pike County, Illinois, as shown by his deed to James P. Law for land in Section 14, in Harristown Township, Macon County, Illinois. So he could not have died in 1852, as *Lincoln Lore* of June 13, 1938 stated. In my search in the records of Macon County I did not find the name of Charles Hanks's wife. But Mrs. J. T. Manon (Mary Ellen Hanks) is on record as saying that his wife was a Miss Morehead. Dunham Wright confirms this. But according to *Lincoln Lore*, April 28, 1930 and June 13, 1938, Hannah Martin was his wife. Both may be correct though I am inclined to believe Mrs. Manon and Dunham Wright. Lamon quotes A. Y. Ellis as saying that he knew "Charley" Hanks, who lived at Island Grove, Sangamon County, Illinois.[18] I was unable to find any record of this in Springfield.

On September 3, 1853, Charles Hanks deeded to William C. Hanks part of his farm in Section 14, Harristown Township. William C. Hanks was married to Miss E. J. Wykle on April 29, 1852 by the Reverend J. C. Smith. It may be William C. Hanks was the William Hanks who went with John Hanks, John Sawyer and Anderson Draper in the 1849-1850 "gold rush" from Macon County. But William C. Hanks was not "Gold Bill" Hanks, for "Gold Bill" was William B. Hanks, son of James Hanks, and did not join in the gold rush.[19]

[18] Original Land Entry Book, 47, 50; Poll Book and Tally sheet, 1829-1844; letters of Andrew J. Hanks to Frank Sawyer; interview of Frank Sawyer with John H. Taggart, grandson of Joseph Hanks; Commissioners' Book I: 23, 42, 50, 104, 118, 137; Book 2: Probate Records, p. 17; Deeds, Book M: 8; Book T: 519, 598; Book U: 44; Book V: 234 (in County Recorder's office); Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 404; letters of Dunham Wright to Frank Sawyer; Lamon, *Life of Lincoln*, 143; interview of Frank Sawyer with Jack Taggart. A. S. Muirhead (or Morehead) was the second husband of Nancy Hanks Miller, the daughter of James and Rebeckah Atherton Hanks.

[19] *Lincoln Lore*, April 28, 1930; Macon County marriage records; Richmond,

Charles Hanks was still alive and was back in Macon County, Illinois on July 9, 1860 as is told in a deed from Joseph and Marguerite Wykle, parents of Eliza Jane, wife of William C. Hanks. In 1865 the children of Charles Hanks were giving each other quit claim deeds to land in Section 2 and also in Section 23, both in Township 16 N, R 1 E of 3 P.M. and also to land in Pike County, Illinois. So Charles Hanks must have died before 1865. I think that he died in August, 1860, and that the letter of Lincoln to John Hanks on August 24, 1860 was in reply to the news of Charles Hanks's death.[20]

Charles Hanks's children:

1. ENOCH, married to Mary Ann Scott in Macon County on October 30, 1850 by Jesse Scott, justice of the peace. Enoch lived in Macon County, and later in Brown County, across the road from Pike County. He died about 1888.

2. WILLIAM C., married to Eliza Jane Wykle in Macon County on April 29, 1852 by the Reverend John C. Smith. They lived in Macon County, later in Pike County. William C. died about 1866, was buried in Hamilton Cemetery in Pike County. Eliza Jane married (second) Samuel E. Behymer. She died about 1870 and is buried at Meredosia, Illinois.

3. MARILLA (or Marilda), married to Thomas Cothren in Macon County on March 30, 1854 by Jacob Hostetler, justice of the peace. They lived in Macon County. She died before August 18, 1875. Thomas married (second) Mrs. Mary E. Taylor.

4. NANCY, married to James T. Varner ("Tubby Jim"). They lived in Pike county, Illinois.

5. MARIA, married to Isaiah Varner. They lived in Brown County, Illinois.

Decatur and Macon County, 207. According to Jack Hanks, his father, William B. Hanks, was called "Gold Bill," "Golden Bill," and "Gold Dollar Bill" because of his neat, well-dressed appearance (interviews with S. J. [Jack] Hanks by the writer and by Frank Sawyer).

[20] Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 253-54; marriage records; Deeds, Book 3: 474, 539; Book 5: 238; Book 20: 8, 44, 459, 519.

VI. JOSEPH HANKS

Joseph Hanks, son of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born in Kentucky. He seems to have gone to Indiana and later to Illinois. On November 9, 1835 he entered the SW ¼ of the SE ¼ ,Sec. 15, T 16 N, R 1 East of 3 P.M.—forty acres lying between the farm of his brother-in-law William Miller, Sr. and the forty his father, William Hanks, Sr., entered the same year. The next year he entered a forty-acre tract south of an eighty his brother Charles Hanks owned, Sec. 23, 16 N, R 1 East of 3 P.M. All the tracts were in Harristown Township, Macon County.[21] He was called on the petit jury in 1833 and 1835.

In 1832 James A. Piatt lived where Monticello now is, then in Macon County, Illinois. When he missed some horses he followed the thieves and captured them in Indiana not far from the Ohio line. With the help of Henry Sadorus of Sadorus Grove, a soldier of the War of 1812, he brought them back to Macon County and turned them over to Sheriff William Warnick, arriving there on September 24, 1832. When the prisoners were brought to trial, the grand jury were: Isaac Pugh (chairman), Robert Wilson, Sr., Jacob Myers, Elisha Querry, Doris Stevens, William A. Austin, Robert Foster, Winfield Everett, Robert Smith, James Hanks, Garland Hall, Luther Stevens, Joseph Davis, William Randolph and Isaac Carlock. They returned the following bill of indictment: "The People vs. Thomas Wyatt and Wm. Robinson—alias William Redmon—Larceny—a true bill." The petit jury was composed of: Andrew L. Muirhead, Isaac Veech, Nathan N. Baker, George Querry, John D. Wright, William Cox, Benjamin Hatton, Tho. Lamb, Jeb. Scott, James Ferris, John Davidson and Jonas Edwards—all good men and true, I hope. Verdict:

> Guilty in manner and form as charged in the indictment and they value the property at $200.

The judge was Samuel D. Lockwood, a judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois. Sentence:

[21] Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 189; Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 253; Original Entry Book, pp. 47, 50; Deed Book J: 499.

> Whereupon it is ordered by the Court that the defendants be returned to prison and on to-morrow at 2 o'clock, the defendant Tho. Wyatt shall be publickly whipped 40 lashes on his bare back and defendant Robinson alias Redmon at the same time and place, receive 50 lashes on his bare back and each imprisoned 3 months and fined $100 each and stand committed until fine and costs are paid.

Then in the Commissioners' Book for December, 1832, we find the following:

> Ordered that P. D. Williams be and he hereby is allowed $57.50 for dieting two prisoners seventy-seven days while confined in Macon County jail. . . . Ordered that P. D. Williams is and he is hereby allowed $7.75 for services rendered by Tho. Taylor when guarding jail and it is further ordered that he be allowed $18.50 for services rendered by James Querry in same capacity. Also be allowed $56.00 compensation as a guard for Macon County jail while Tho. Wyatt and Wm. Redmon were confined in said jail. Ordered that Joseph Hanks is and he is hereby allowed $8.00 as compensation for guarding jail 8 days and nights. Ordered that Rob. Johnson is allowed $.50 for guarding jail one night. On examination of Samuel B. Dewees' fee bill presented to court it is ordered that he be allowed $19.87 for service rendered during the confinement of Tho. Wyatt and Wm. Redmon in Macon County jail . . . . Ordered that William Warnick Sheriff of Macon County, be and he is hereby allowed $30.00 in full for his Ex Officio fee commencing from March, 1832 and expiring March, 1833. Also $4.00 for his services during the December Term 1832. Also be allowed too for inflicting punishment on two prisoners attending with prisoners before Judge and attending Circuit Court September Term 1832, $7.00.

Some accounts have it that the prisoners received forty-nine stripes and another, according to the good old Mosaic Law usage, forty stripes save one, and that after the whipping in Lincoln Square they were given a horn of whisky and told to "beat it." The records do not show whether the bills for guarding the jail were all before the trial or not. They nearly broke the county. One of the thieves became a murderer and was hanged, and the

other drowned in the Mississippi River.[22]

In the election of August 20, 1836, Joseph Hanks received eleven votes for constable at the log courthouse in Decatur but he seems to have been the low man. He was a sergeant in Captain Isaac Pugh's rangers in the Black Hawk War and re-enlisted with his future brother-in-law, John D. Wright, and A. Lincoln in Captain Elijah Iles's company.

When Lincoln was a Whig candidate for presidential elector, William Hanks, Sr., William Hanks, Jr., Joseph Hanks, Isaac Hanks, Charles Hanks, James Hanks, Joseph Heckel and my grandfather, Newton N. Baker, voted against him in Decatur on November 2, 1840. Most of them and John Hanks, and I think Joshua B. Hanks were against him in 1844 also. On November 4, 1844 Joseph Hanks voted against him in the Miller Schoolhouse near the home of Christopher Miller—Miller Precinct. This would have been the voting place of Lincoln if he had still lived at the place where he was living in 1830-1831. Lincoln received two votes out of twenty-two. Joseph Hanks voted at the Miller Schoolhouse again on August 5, 1845. He died on September 23, 1845 and is buried in Gouge Cemetery, where the body of his father, William, Sr. also lies. In the Commissioners' Book for September, 1845 we find the following: "Ordered that Emanuel Widick be and he is hereby appointed Supervisor of Road District No. 2 in place of Joseph Hanks deceased."

Joseph Hanks's inventory at his death showed that he owned 120 acres in what is now Harristown Township, Macon County,

[22] Among the members of the grand jury: Isaac Pugh was Colonel of the 41st Ill. Infantry; Robert Wilson, Sr. married my great grandmother, Sallie Lindsey Hodge; William A. Austin was a justice of the peace for forty years and Lincoln had cases before him; Robert Smith was a soldier under Andrew Jackson; Joseph Davis was a justice of the peace and owner of the farm on which the Union League for Long Creek and Oakley townships was organized in 1863. On the petit jury: Isaac Veech entered and sold the "home farm" to William Hanks, Jr., and two of his sons married granddaughters of James Hanks; John D. Wright married Celia Hanks, the sister of Joseph Hanks; Nathan N. Baker was the writer's grandfather; Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1830-1845; *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, Sept., 1938, p. 357; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 28n., 32-33; Circuit Court Records of Macon County, Book A; Commissioners Book 1, Dec. term, 1832, pp. 58-61; March term, 1833, pp. 74-76; Book 2, Sept. term, 1845, p. 158.

Illinois. One of the forty-acre tracts was deeded to the infant heirs of Joseph Hanks by his father, William Hanks, Sr. on May 5, 1846 in Des Moines County, Territory of Iowa. It was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John D. Wright, sworn to in the presence of Justice of the Peace Clark, on September 10, 1846. John D. Wright probably drew it. Joseph Hanks owned 120 acres in Pleasant Grove Township, Des Moines County, Iowa, and sometimes John D. Wright was the agent in paying the taxes. Joseph Hanks was married to Sarah Hunter in Sangamon County, Illinois on July 28, 1836 by John Dawson. She died between May 31, 1848 and March 4, 1850, probably in 1850. She was buried in Gouge Cemetery.[23] The children of Joseph and Sarah Hunter Hanks were:

1. RACHEL, born about October, 1838, married Elijah Gathard, lived in Sangamon County, Illinois. She is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, Sangamon County.

2. MARGARET JANE, born December 29, 1840, died April 6, 1921, buried in Illini Cemetery, Macon County, Illinois. Married to Harrison H. Taggart, December 6, 1865, by the Reverend D. L. Bunn. Taggart was born April 4, 1840, died December 8, 1925, buried in Illini Cemetery. Their children were John H. and Maud Taggart.

3. CELIA, born December 27, 1842, died March 23, 1866, buried in Mechanicsburg Cemetery, Sangamon County. Married Dr. Frank Hall on November 14, 1864 at Mechanicsburg, Illinois. Son was Irvin Hall, born August 1, 1865.

4. MARY ELIZABETH, born April 10, 1846 about six months after father's death. Lived at least six years with her cousin, Mrs. Malinda Jane Mettlin. Married to Dr. Frank Hall, widower of her sister Celia, September 18, 1867 by the Reverend J. H. Hughes. She died about 1919. Their sons were Percival

[23] *Record of Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War* (*Ill. Adjutant General's Report*, Vol. 9, Springfield, 1902), 104, 174, 175; estate of Joseph Hanks, Boxes 5, 26, 31, 115; interviews with John H. Taggart; plat of Gouge Cemetery, Macon County Clerk; Commissioners' Book, Probate Records AAA: 159; Marriage Records, Sangamon County.

(1868-1929) and Oliver Harden (1869-1913).[24]

VII. JOHN HANKS

John Hanks, the son of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born on February 9, 1802, within about four miles of Beardstown, near the Falls of Rough Creek, Kentucky. In his statement to Herndon he said that he knew Lincoln's mother before her marriage and that he knew Lincoln as a boy in Kentucky. But in a letter written in 1860, Lincoln intimated that he first knew Hanks when, as a young man, he came to Indiana. At the time of Lincoln's birth, William Hanks lived forty miles away, near the Falls of Rough Creek. In an interview printed in the *Decatur Daily Republican* on July 2, 1889, John Hanks is quoted as saying: "Lincoln was 12 years of age when I first formed his acquaintance in Spencer County, Indiana." In 1822 John Hanks joined the Lincolns in Indiana, living with or near them for several years. In 1826 he was back in Kentucky and married Susan Malinda Wilson, who was born in Kentucky. She died in Macon County, Illinois on March 11, 1863 at the age of 58 years, 3 months and 28 days. Two children were born in Kentucky—William J. and James Lewis Hanks.[25]

In the fall of 1828 John Hanks came to Macon County, Illinois by way of Spencer County, Indiana. He sent a letter back to the Lincolns advising them "to pull up stakes and come to Illinois." John liked a spot on the Sangamon River and felled some trees for a cabin and built a double rail shelter, stuffed with grass and leaves and covered with slough grass; but being unable to break the thick prairie sod with the ox or horse power at hand, he moved to Bull Point, now called Hickory Point Township. On April 5, 1830 he and a relative of his wife, J. Tuttle, entered the

[24] Marriage records, Macon County; Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1830-1845; John Carroll Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Springfield, 1876), 349.

[25] Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 404, 408; Hertz, *Hidden Lincoln*, 345, 346; Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 253-54; Warren, *Lincoln's Parentage*, 104; *Decatur Daily Republican*, July 2, 1889; grave markers.

W ½ of the NW ¼, Sec. 33, 17 N, R 2 East of 3 P.M. Here John built first a rail shelter and later a cabin. When the Lincoln family came to Illinois in March, 1830, they lived in John's first rail shelter on the Sangamon River until their own cabin was built.

John helped build the cabin, split rails to fence in the "sod" corn that helped feed them during the winter of the "Deep Snow," 1830-1831. With the spring came Denton Offut who wanted John Hanks to take a flatboat down the river to New Orleans from Springfield, Illinois. John agreed to go and took Lincoln with him. As the so-called roads were flooded they went down the Sangamon in a canoe and Lincoln's stepbrother John Johnston joined them later. On the river near Springfield they built a flatboat and started, though John Hanks is said to have turned back at St. Louis. He did make a number of trips to New Orleans, however—six or more according to some authorities. In 1845-1846 he was one of two men out of five who reached New Orleans in charge of boats starting from Decatur, Illinois.[26]

John Hanks was quite busy in county affairs: he built the bridge over Stevens Creek in Bull Point, receiving $12 for it. He found two trees standing in convenient locations and felled them across the creek. He trimmed them up, hewed the top sides, and spiked on the plank—as simple as that, but it "worked and the public trusted their lives to it." He daubed and chinked the log courthouse in Decatur for $9.87½. He was called on the first and second grand juries and at another time served on the petit jury. He was school trustee in 1841. John Hanks was a ranger in Captain Isaac Pugh's company in the Black Hawk War.[27] With John

[26] Brink, *History of Macon County*, 34, 184, 204-205; Original Entry Book, 151; letters of Mary Ellen Hanks Manon to Frank Sawyer; Emma C. Piatt, *History of Piatt County* (Chicago, 1883?), 292; Smith, *History of Macon County*, 145; Hertz, *Hidden Lincoln*, 348; Jesse W. Weik, *The Real Lincoln* (Boston, 1922), 45; Nelson, *History of Macon County*, I: 315; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 52, 99.

[27] Hezekiah Hays told Frank Sawyer about the bridge which John Hanks built and said it was carried away by flood in 1854; according to the Macon Co. Commissioners' Book, March term, 1840, he was allowed $8.00 for timber he furnished for building the bridge across Stevens Creek. See also Commissioners' Book I: 7, 14, 20, 36, 118, 136; *ibid.*, Probate Records AAA: 34, 42; Smith, *History of Macon County*, 60; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 29.

Sawyer, William Hanks and others he joined the "gold rush" in 1849-1850 and stayed in the west two or three years. Who this William Hanks was is not known, but he was not "Gold Bill," the son of James Hanks.

John Hanks came back flush from his trip and built a seven-room hewn log house, with a stairway and an ell. Mrs. Mary Ellen Hanks Manon, his daughter, remembered this house with much pleasure after many years. Then he went modern and bought a cookstove. This house sheltered the family until it burned down in 1866. Then he built the house now standing, using brick burned by Charles Lewis on the farm.

The local tradition is that in paying for these bricks John Hanks said: "Take the south twenty acres" and Lewis did so. But the matter was settled some way after John Hanks died as was the Tuttle-Hanks joint land entry. The records show that John Hanks deeded Lewis the south ten acres on August 15, 1867 and another small tract in 1881. As a deed from Tuttle to John Hanks was burned in the log cabin, Alexander Mettlin made a trip to Kentucky after John Hanks died to get a deed from the Tuttle heirs.[28]

Lincoln often visited the Hanks cabins, coming out for the night when he was in court in Decatur. John Kaylor remembers one such visit. Kaylor was plowing and Lincoln came by on his way to town. Kaylor waited at the end of the row until Lincoln arrived. Lincoln sat down on the plow and took off his shoe to get out some of the sacred soil of Illinois, remarking: "What a grand and noble thing country life is—and independent, healthy and I hope profitable." Mrs. Willis Johnson of Decatur tells of another visit about May 14, 1838 and of riding back to town with Lincoln in a "big wagon." John Hanks was, it is thought, the only one of his kin that Lincoln invited to his wedding: "Dear John—I am to be married on the 4th of next month to Miss Todd. I hope you will come over. Be sure to be on deck by early candle light. Yours

[28] *Decatur Review*, Feb. 1, 1931; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 206-207; letters of Mary Ellen Hanks Manon to Frank Sawyer; estate of John Hanks, Boxes 121, 1,677.

A. Lincoln."[29]

John Hanks voted against Lincoln as a Whig elector in Decatur on November 4, 1844 as did the rest of the Hanks family in Macon County, Illinois. My relatives did the same. Joseph Stevens, who boasted that he had cut Lincoln out and got his girl Mary Polly Warnick, voted for Lincoln. John Hanks voted for Douglas in 1858. The great day in John Hanks's life was at the State Republican Convention in Decatur, Illinois in 1860. Before the event Dick Oglesby and John Hanks went to the place on the Sangamon River where Hanks had led and located the Lincolns in March, 1830 and Lincoln had lived the one year in Macon County. John Hanks jabbed his knife into a rail saying: "Dick, if I don't find any black walnut nor any honey-locust rails I won't claim it's the fence Abe and I built" and walnut and locust they were. They brought back two rails to Isaac Jennings' shop off North Main Street. Oglesby gave Hanks a banner which he nailed to the rails. They carried it to the Wigwam on State Street, south of Central Park, like a litter. After the Convention warmed up, Oglesby said that an old-time Democrat of Macon County wanted to make a contribution to the Convention. When the way was cleared for John Hanks and Isaac Jennings to enter, Lincoln was sitting "hunked down" in a corner of the back row to be inconspicuous, for as he said: "I'm most too much of a candidate to be here, and not enough of one to stay away." On the banner brought on the floor were the words: "Abraham Lincoln, the Rail Splitter candidate for President in 1860. Two rails from a lot of 3,000 made in 1830 by John Hanks and Abe Lincoln, whose father was the first pioneer in Macon County."

The final statement was a campaign exaggeration. The crowd went wild and yelled "Lincoln, Lincoln, Lincoln." Lincoln was hustled to the front by passing him from hand to hand over the heads of the crowd that had jammed the aisles in the excitement. He arose, his head nearly touching the roof, and said: "Gentle-

[29] Piatt, *History of Piatt County*, 293; Hertz, *Hidden Lincoln*, 349-50; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909; Weik, *The Real Lincoln*, 58, 275; Letter of John Kaylor to Frank Sawyer.

men, I suppose you want to hear about those things (pointing to the rails). John and I did make some rails. I do not know whether these are the rails or not, but I do know I have made a heap better ones and could do it again." My father, Sylvester C. Davis, heard this speech. After some wrangling, the Convention went on record as favoring Lincoln's candidacy for president: they looked for Lincoln and found him asleep on a couch in the Peake jewelry store. According to Lowber Burrows, "When he responded to the endorsement his remarks were thoughtful, earnest, sincere and of course deliberate." It gave Mr. Burrows the idea that it had been committed to memory.[30]

John Hanks, in a letter to the *Decatur Chronicle*, told why he left the Democratic Party for Lincoln. The sentiment may be from Hanks but it sounds like the words of Dick Oglesby or some one equally skillful. This letter pleased Lincoln as John was a favorite cousin and the only one in Macon County to be for him it is thought. It is said that John Hanks cut up all the walnut rails in his own rail fence into three lengths and made "genuine Lincoln canes" and sold them at $1.00 per cane, and that when Dennis and John Hanks were away in Chicago and Boston with the "Lincoln Cabin" in 1865, his son said "H—— I don't know anything about rails" and cut up a dead walnut tree for the trade. So runs the "low-down" as told by the Old Possum Fork of Stevens Creek gang. Thomas Shoaff, the grandson of Dennis Hanks, paid $14 on rails shipped to Boston. John Hanks said that he did make canes of his own fence during the campaign but that Thomas and Abe Lincoln had helped him split them, and that he gave a barbecue on his farm at his own expense to over three thousand people. After the election John Hanks went with Lincoln to pay a farewell visit to Sarah Bush Lincoln in Coles County. Augustus H. Chapman met them in Charleston and drove them to the farm

[30] Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1829-1844; Weik, *The Real Lincoln*, 276; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909; L. White Busbey, *Uncle Joe Cannon* (N.Y., 1927), 113-15; Nelson, *History of Macon County*, I: 320; Francis Fisher Browne, *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1913), 229-31; Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 65-67.

and also to Thomas Lincoln's grave. Chapman was a son-in-law of Dennis Hanks. John Hanks went to the Inauguration in Washington in a "bran new suit of jeans" and had a fine time, "was in Lincoln's room several times" even if his clothes "were hardly in keeping with the 'store clothes' in and around the Capitol, but that did not make any difference to Lincoln."[31]

Then or later Hanks wanted Lincoln to appoint him Indian Agent. It is said that Lincoln remarked that it might be well to have one honest agent. Lincoln did not refuse him directly but gave him papers to be filled out in his own handwriting. John Hanks could not read or write. This I think is the main trouble with some of John Hanks's statements. He could not check them over item by item, and even if they were read to him some errors might—as Andrew H. Brown would say—"whiz by." Herndon declared: "Lincoln loved this man, thought him beautiful, honest and noble. Lincoln has stated this to me over and over again."

John Hanks told this story to E. K. Killpatrick, stepson of A. T. Mettlin:

> I went down to Washington to see Abe Lincoln and maybe get me a job. I started in but a soldier halted me. I told him I had come to see Abe Lincoln. He said you can't get in without a pass. I told him I didn't need a pass—I was a cousin of Lincoln from Decatur, Illinois. He said you can't get in. This made me mad and I told him what I thought, and I guess I talked pretty loud. So he up and called the corporal and he came and said, "You are under arrest." That did make me mad so I told them all who I was, where I came from, and that I was going to see Lincoln. There was a crowd around by this time and I was afraid they would take me off to the guardhouse, but the Corporal took a second thought and sent word into the house that a man who said he was John Hanks and a cousin of the President was outside. Well afterwhile Abe came out onto the steps and looked down at me between two soldiers and then he began to laugh and laugh. It made me mad as a

[31] Lamon, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 444; *Chronicle* letter quoted in Weik, *The Real Lincoln*, 275-78; *Decatur Herald*, Feb. 7, 1909; *Shelby County Leader*, Feb. 6, 1930; *Decatur Daily Republican*, July 2, 1889; Browne, *Every-Day Life of Lincoln*, 263.

> hornet—it warnt funny to me. So I said "Abe call off your blanky-blank———dogs and let me in." I stayed around Washington several days.

According to this story he wanted to be postmaster of Bloomington, Illinois.[32] Dennis Hanks made a similar visit. Lincoln let John down as in the Indian Agent case. John Hanks enlisted in the 21st Illinois Infantry, Company A, on June 15, 1861 and was mustered out on July 5, 1864. As wagoner he had charge of the baggage of U. S. Grant. Some time in April, 1865, John Hanks, Dennis Hanks and the son-in-law of Dennis, James Shoaff, carefully numbered the logs in the "Lincoln Log Cabin" on the Sangamon and set up the cabin at the Sanitary Fair in Chicago, and later erected it on Boston Common. They found at least one bad log and "restored" it with one taken from John Hanks's log barn, as told me by Perry Vance, late of Elwin, Illinois whose father ran the Hanks farm while John was away. Mrs. Mary Ellen Manon saw the cabin when they set it up at home to try it out, and said that it looked fine. *Lincoln Lore* says that it was shown at Barnum's Museum in New York and later lost at sea en route to England. Brink quotes John Hanks as saying that it was shown at the Centennial in Philadelphia but Thomas B. Shoaff denies this. Governor Oglesby sent a letter to John Hanks to be used as an introduction if he went to Europe.

> John Hanks never went to Europe; but he did spend some time in the Eastern States. He said that the people, especially the ones from abroad, seemed more anxious to see him than they did the cabin, and nearly all wanted his picture. I can understand this, for I am "as pleased as Punch" that I saw John Hanks at some gathering in Decatur. My mother said "Look, there is old John Hanks!" and of course I looked, though why he was worth looking at I was too small to know.[33]

[32] Lamon, *Life of Lincoln*, 77; Hertz, *Hidden Lincoln*, 345, 350; Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 301-302.

[33] *Report of the Adjutant General of Illinois*, II: 188; Richmond, *History of Macon County*, 54; letters of Mary Ellen Hanks Manon to Frank Sawyer; *Lincoln Lore*, May 29, 1933; Brink, *History of Macon County*, 184; *Jour. Ill. State. Soc.*, 25: 84-86.

John Hanks went to Springfield to attend the funeral of Abraham Lincoln. He made two or three trips to the west coast. On January 13, 1938 in the "Fifty Years Ago" column of the *Decatur Review* this statement appeared: "Uncle Johnny Hanks is living with relations in Oregon." In a later paper it was stated that he had returned home:

> Uncle Johnny Hanks now in the eighty-seventh year of age, who has been afflicted with rheumatism for twenty years got home this week from Linkville, Oregon where he spent over a year with his son James L. Hanks. He also visited his daughter Mrs. John Manning [Mrs. M. E. Manon] in Humboldt County, California. Mr. Hanks was brought home by Mr. Manning. He will probably spend the remaining days with Alech Mettlin. Uncle Johnny looks well.

E. K. Killpatrick well remembers that day. John Hanks's legs were swollen and in bad shape. The first thing John asked for was a chew of tobacco, but this Manon advised against giving him because he was not supposed to use tobacco. But Mettlin said he was old and couldn't live long, and if he got any enjoyment in chewing he would see that he got it. Mettlin sent Killpatrick to Decatur for tobacco; this he bought at the Gebhart store on North Main Street. As no brand was named, he bought a high mix of several kinds—$1.00 worth. Mettlin placed a large cuspidor in the middle of the room and Hanks chewed, told stories and enjoyed life. It was during this time that he told Killpatrick many stories. John Hanks lived part of the time with the Mettlins and part of the time at the home of his granddaughter, Mrs. Frank Beal. In June, 1889 the *Decatur Republican* reported: "Reverend T. W. Pinkerton visited Uncle Johnny Hanks this week at the A. T. Mettlin place north of the city. He found the old man sitting in a chair and very feeble." On July 2, the following notice was printed: "John Hanks expired yesterday afternoon at 3:30 at the home of Frank M. Beal in Hickory Point Township where he settled in 1828 at the age of twenty-six . . . rheumatism and dropsy. Funeral at Boiling Springs Church. . . Reverend T. W. Pinkerton officiating." He died on July 1, 1889, age 87 years,

4 months, and 22 days, and is buried beside his wife, Susan Malinda Hanks, and several of his children and grandchildren in the Boiling Springs Cemetery about half a mile west of his brick house. He was a man above medium height and weighed about two hundred pounds. He was a Universalist until a few years before his death when he joined the Disciples of Christ.[34] The children of John and Susan Malinda Wilson Hanks were:

1. WILLIAM J. ("Cholery Bill"—so designated because he thought that he had the cholera one time while in St. Louis). He married Mary E. Henson in 1853. They lived in Piatt County and at Boiling Springs, west of John Hanks's home. She died in 1876. They had two children: Charles, born about 1856, was married to Elizabeth Newhouse, January 29, 1880 by Ira B. Curtis, justice of the peace; (second) to Bessie Humphrey, August 29, 1887, at Boiling Springs by the Reverend Jacob Bear. Bessie was twenty-three years old at this time. Emma, daughter of William J. and Mary E. Hanks, lived at John Hanks's home for a while and also with Emily Hanks Loomis.

2. JAMES LEWIS, born in Kentucky, lived at Linkville, Oregon.

3. MALINDA JANE, married to Alexander T. Mettlin January 1, 1852 by the Reverend E. G. Falconer. She died on August 17, 1874, aged 43 years, 6 months, 2 days. Mettlin was born in 1830, died 1906. Both are buried in Boiling Springs Cemetery.

4. JOHN FELIX (or Phelix), drowned in Stevens Creek, May 1, 1858, aged 23 years.

5. EMILY, married Elijah Loomis, a teacher, lived at Minonk, Illinois. Their daughter Minnie married a Mr. Mahaffy.

6. ALEXANDER GRAYSON, married to Mary C. Montgomery, January 16, 1862 by the Reverend J. S. Stamper. She was born May 11, 1839. They lived in Missouri. Their son, William G. Hanks, lived in Long Beach, California. Their daughter,

[34] Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 405; *Decatur Daily Republican*, Aug. 24, 1888, June 22, July 2, 1889; grave markers.

Mildred (Milly), was a dressmaker at Springfield, Illinois. She married Cyrus Mumbower. Their son, Ira Hanks, was deaf and dumb.

7. LEVI TOBY, lived in Macon County, in Moweaqua, Illinois, and in Sedalia, Missouri. Died while on a visit to St. Louis.

8. MARY ELLEN, born April 20, 1843, died at Hayward, California on February 9, 1933. She was married to John T. Manon on December 31, 1868 by the Reverend T. N. Ewing. John was a teacher at Boiling Springs. They later lived in Eureka, California until John's death, about 1930 or 1931. Mary Ellen was buried in Oakland, California. One son, Clarence L. Manon, was living in Hayward, California in 1933.[35]

VIII. CELIA HANKS WRIGHT

Celia Hanks was the youngest daughter of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, and was born in Kentucky about 1813 or 1814. According to the United States census of Macon County, Illinois of 1830, Celia and Andrew Jackson Hanks seem to have been the only children still at home. Celia was married to John Dunham Wright on November 6, 1832 by Captain Isaac Pugh, justice of the peace. She was his second wife. Wright learned surveying in Vermont, where he was born in Chittenden County on February 7, 1808. He was quite active during the years he lived in Macon County. He ran for sheriff against William Warnick on August 6, 1832, polling seven votes in Decatur. He was elected constable in 1833. In 1835 he led the field with ninety votes for constable in Decatur.

There are several items in the old Commissioners' Book 1 giving evidence of his attending court, doing jury service, attending and repairing stray-pens and surveying. According to his son, Dunham Wright, of Medical Springs, Oregon, he gave Lincoln

[35] Marriage records; grave markers; Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 404; *Past and Present of Decatur and Macon County, Illinois* pub. by S. J. Clarke Pub. Co. (Chicago, 1903), 465-66; Smith, *History of Macon County*, 262; *Decatur Review*, Feb. 21, 1933.

his first lesson in surveying. John D. Wright did quite a lot of surveying in Macon County including some of the first additions to Decatur and School Section 16, east of Mt. Zion. One item in the Commissioners' Book is as follows: "Ordered that John D. Wright be and he is hereby allowed $2.00 for one day surveying on the road from Decatur to Martin and platting the whole road." He was called on the petit jury in March, 1832, and was on the petit jury on September 24, 1832 which brought in the verdict of "guilty" against the horse thieves, Thomas Wyatt and William Robinson, alias William Redmon, which ended in a public whipping. (See Section VI above, on Joseph Hanks).

John D. Wright was First Sergeant in Captain Isaac Pugh's Rangers in the Black Hawk War. He re-enlisted with Lincoln and his future brother-in-law, Joseph Hanks, in Captain Iles's Company. John D. Wright was commissioned First Lieutenant in the 48th Illinois by Governor John Reynolds on January 12, 1833. He was a landowner. He was the original buyer of the W ½, lot 3, block 4 and the east ½, lot 5, block 4 in Old Town, Decatur, Illinois, receiving his deeds from the county commissioners. This is the ground on which the St. Nicholas Hotel is partly built and where the Day House now stands.[36]

Wright is said to have sold his lime kiln to David L. Allen when in 1836, with his brother-in-law William Miller, Sr. and wife Nancy Hanks Miller, they moved to Pleasant Grove Township, Des Moines County, Territory of Iowa. Here Andrew J. Hanks joined them in 1838-1839. Here they lived, reared a family and are buried on the G. W. McNeil farm in the Millersburg Cemetery. John D. Wright was a justice of the peace in Iowa, and owned 320 acres of land. As far as the records of Macon County, Illinois show, Celia Hanks Wright and Andrew Jackson Hanks were the only ones of William Hanks, Sr.'s children who could sign their own names—at least none are known. That they could write I

[36] Marriage records; *Decatur Review*, Jan. 8, 1937; letters of Dunham Wright to Frank Sawyer; Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1832-1838; Circuit Court Records, Book A (Macon Co. Clerk); Richmond, *Decatur and Macon County*, 126; *Report of Adj. Gen. of Ill.*, 9: 175.

attribute to John D. Wright. Wright acted as agent in paying the Iowa taxes on the estate of Joseph Hanks. The deed of William Hanks, Sr. to the infant heirs of Joseph Hanks was written, sealed and delivered in the presence of John D. Wright on May 5, 1846, but was sworn to in the presence of Justice of the Peace Clark on September 10, 1846. John D. Wright was a witness to the will of William Hanks, Jr. and was named as administrator of it in Iowa. In my opinion Wright drew both will and deed.[37]

As mentioned above, Celia Hanks was Wright's second wife. His first wife was Emily Robinson whom he married in Vermont in August, 1830. She died in Decatur, Illinois in October, 1831. Wright married Celia Hanks in 1832 and she died in Iowa on September 25, 1844. Mrs. Emeline Emaly became Wright's third wife on November 13, 1845.

Children of John D. and Celia Hanks Wright were:

1. MARVIN, born in November, 1833, died April, 1835.
2. HANNAH ELIZABETH, born in April, 1835, died in July, 1836.
3. WILLIAM LINNEOUS, born February 20, 1837, died in Savannah, Missouri, January 31, 1923. His first wife was Sarah Clemmons, married on August 12, 1855. She died on May 16, 1860. He married Mathilda A. Bonifield on December 5, 1860. She died January 8, 1871. His third wife was Fannie G. Gillam. They were married on November 2, 1871.
4. PERSILLA, born in April, 1839, died in September, 1840.
5. DUNHAM, born March 13, 1842. Still living.

6 and 7. ELISHA and ELECTA, born March 27, 1844.

IX. ANDREW JACKSON HANKS

Andrew Jackson Hanks was the youngest son of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, and was born in Kentucky

[37] Grave markers in cemetery, Millersburg, Iowa; Deed Book H: 138; Book J: 449; letters of Dunham Wright to Frank Sawyer; estate of Joseph Hanks, Box 5, File 115 (Macon Co. Clerk); Will of William Hanks, Jr., Box 5, File 122 (Macon Co. Clerk); *Decatur Review*, Jan. 8, 1937. A cursory search of the records by the writer on July 2, 1935 revealed that John D. Wright had at least 320 acres of land in Pleasant Grove Township, Des Moines County, Iowa.

on May 15, 1815. He went with the family to Indiana and on to Illinois in 1828. In the United States census of Macon County of 1830, taken by Daniel McCall, only Andrew Jackson and Celia seemed to be living at home.

In the March term of the commissioners' court of 1836, Andrew J. Hanks was called to serve on the petit jury, on the fourth Monday in May, 1836. He was not of age until May 15, 1836. He voted in the log courthouse in August, 1837, and also, I think—the first letter is blurred—on December 25, 1837. Charles Hanks and William Miller, the third, also voted at that election. On August 6 and November 3, 1838, Andrew J. Hanks voted in the new brick courthouse in Decatur, Illinois.[38]

About 1839, Andrew J. Hanks followed his sisters, Nancy Hanks Miller and Celia Hanks Wright, to Pleasant Grove Township, Des Moines County, Iowa. Here he lived, acquired land, reared a family, and died. He is buried close to his sister, Nancy Hanks Miller, in the old Millersburg Cemetery, on the farm of his grandson, G. W. McNeil, in Pleasant Grove Township. According to Mrs. Henry Hanks of New London, Iowa, a daughter-in-law of Andrew J. Hanks, he had three wives: Malinda Porter, Sophia Row (a widow) and Micha Moran. The markers for Andrew and his first wife read: "A. J. Hanks. Born May 15, 1815. Died August 15, 1889," and "Malinda Hanks. Wife of A. J. Hanks. Died August 29, 1857. Aged 43 years, 5 months and 4 days."

Andrew J. Hanks died forty-five days after the death of his older brother, John Hanks. Jack Hanks remembers him well as a visitor at the home of William B. Hanks, father of Jack Hanks. He says that Andrew J. Hanks was the tallest and largest of the Hanks men. Mrs. Mary Ellen Manon says: "My uncles were rather above the medium height; so was my father [John Hanks] who weighed about 200 pounds." Andrew J. Hanks had a daughter named Elizabeth Hanks, who married J. T. McNeil. G. W. McNeil was their son and a son of G. W. McNeil was on the grand

[38] Grave markers in cemetery, Millersburg, Iowa; letters of Dunham Wright to Frank Sawyer; Poll Book and Tally Sheet, 1837-1838; Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, 253-54.

jury of Des Moines County, Iowa on July 2, 1935. There was a son of Andrew J. Hanks still living on July 2, 1935, in New London, Iowa.[39]

X. DENNIS HANKS

> Dennis F. Hanks was Born in Hardin County on the . . . old Richard Creal farm in the old Peach Orchard in a log cabin 3 miles from Hogins Ville thence we moved to Mercer County and Staid there a Bout 3 years and Moved back again to the same place untill we moved to Spencer County Indiana this was I think in the year 1816 if my Memory Serves me Rite. My mother and Abes mother's mother was sisters My Mother name was Nancy Hanks. Abes Grand Mother was Lucy Hanks which was My Mother's Sister. the woman that Raised me was Elizabeth Sparrow the Sister of Lucy and Nancy. The other sister hir name was Polly Friend. So you see that there was 4 sisters that was Hankses.

So wrote Dennis Hanks to William H. Herndon, and William Barton says: "This was true, every word of it." Dennis Hanks knew more about the boyhood of Lincoln and was, says Barton, the "best educated" and "most intelligent" Hanks of the older ones of Lincoln's kin and had some of the instincts of a gentleman. He lived with and near the Lincoln family, and married Elizabeth Johnston, a stepsister of Lincoln's on June 9, 1821.[40] Dennis was twenty-one, she was only fifteen.

Dennis Hanks says that he was the best off of any of the family moving to Illinois and this is probably true as he had lately received the property left by the aunt who reared him, Elizabeth Hanks Sparrow and her husband, Thomas Sparrow. The story that all thirteen of them lived through the winter of the "Deep Snow," 1830-1831, in one cabin is bunk, told by some "sob sister" to stress the early hardships of the future President. There were hardships but just the usual ones in a new land and they were accustomed to them and took them as a matter of course. Nicolay

[39] Grave markers in cemetery, Millersburg, Iowa; interviews with Jack Hanks in 1938 and 1939; Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 405. A cursory search of the records showed that Andrew J. Hanks owned at least 160 acres of land.

[40] Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 213.

says: "The sons-in-law were temporarily settled in other places in the county" and Lincoln says the same thing in his "Autobiography." Dennis Hanks says that he bought a small improvement near the Lincolns and lived there. Thomas B. Shoaff used to get really indignant about the "thirteen in one cabin" story for he said that his grandfather, Dennis Hanks, had a place of his own. Douglas Shoaff, son of Thomas B. Shoaff, seems to think that Dennis Hanks lived in Decatur where the Masonic Temple now stands.[41]

John Hanks says that "Dennis Hanks came out at the summer time" (1830) presumably to the Thomas Lincoln farm. As far as is known Dennis Hanks did not enter or have a deed to land in Macon County in the years 1830-1831. But later Dennis Hanks did own land in Macon County. His wife was Elizabeth Johnston. James Shoaff, his son-in-law, owned and lived on a part of the lot where the Masonic Temple now stands, but it was sold for taxes in 1865 by the sheriff and bought in by Dennis Hanks, who deeded it to his daughter, Nancy M. Shoaff, in 1866. On the wall of the office of the *Shelby County Leader* is a picture of the house that stood on this lot. (Seen in 1938). The United States census of 1830 of Macon County, Illinois shows six in the family of Dennis Hanks. This agrees with the statement of Thomas B. Shoaff. Dennis Hanks traded at the Renshaw store in Decatur as the old daybook shows: "August 5, 1830, 1 pint of wine—Dennis Hanks; ....August, 1830, 1 box of pills—Dennis Hanks;....November 11, brimstone—Dennis Hanks."

Hanks left Macon County in the spring of 1831. He was at the Chicago Sanitary Fair exhibiting the "Lincoln Log Cabin" on June 13, 1865 when he wrote his statement to Herndon. He was a shoemaker by trade as were many of the Hanks men.

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[41] Hertz, *Hidden Lincoln*, 274-83; Bess V. Ehrmann, *The Missing Chapter in the Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1938), 142-43; John G. Nicolay, *A Short Life of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1902), 20; *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. by John G. Nicolay and John Hay (Gettysburg ed., N.Y., 1894), VI: 29; Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston, 1928), I: 103n.; Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 369; *Shelby County Leader*, Feb. 6, 1830.

> He continued a cheerful, shrewd, loquacious old man, until, when nearly ninety-three years of age, he was run down by a buggy at Paris, Illinois, October 21, 1892, as he was returning from a celebration of the anniversary of the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment. . . . He was a genial, kind-hearted old Democrat, who loved Abraham Lincoln, but never voted for him.

As a coincident with a modern touch, his grandson, Thomas B. Shoaff, was run down by an automobile in October, 1932.[42] The children of Dennis Hanks and Elizabeth Johnston Hanks were:

1. NANCY, married to James Shoaff. She died at the home of her daughter in Decatur, Illinois in August, 1903, aged seventy-nine.

2. HARRIET, married to Augustus H. Chapman. She lived in Charleston, Illinois, was over eighty years old when she died. She lived with the Lincolns for a while.

3. JANE, married to Thomas Dowling. She lived and died in Charleston, Illinois.

4. JOHN TALBOT, moved to Oregon, died at Day Creek Valley, aged ninety.

XI. LUCINDA HANKS

Lucinda (or Lucy) Hanks, daughter of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born in Kentucky. According to the United States census of Macon County, she was not living at home in 1830. She married Thomas Douglas (said by Dunham Wright to have been cousin to Stephen A. Douglas) in Sangamon County on October 3, 1833. They moved to Iowa, later to Oregon, and finally settled in Marysville, California. They had six children, one of whom married M. E. Jordon.

XII. ELIZABETH HANKS

Elizabeth Hanks, daughter of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born in Kentucky. She was not living at

[42] Hertz, *Hidden Lincoln*, 274-83, 347; Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 44, 280, 405; *Decatur Herald*, Oct. 21, 1932; Barton, *Lineage of Lincoln*, 217, 369; Weik, *The Real Lincoln*, 53-54, 293; Beveridge, *Lincoln*, I: 103n.

home in 1830 according to the United States census of Macon County. Her first husband was probably Reason Ray who died on September 10, 1833. Elizabeth Hanks Ray then married Samuel Dillon in Sangamon County on July 4, 1837. However, according to *Lincoln Lore*, June 13, 1938, Elizabeth Hanks was the wife of Jubal Meador.

XIII. SARAH HANKS

Sarah (Sally) Hanks, a daughter of William Hanks, Sr. and Elizabeth Hall Hanks, was born in Kentucky. She married J. Bosier Brown on October 23, 1828 in Sangamon County.[43]

SANGAMON COUNTY MARRIAGE RECORD

Joseph Hanks—Sarah Hunter, July 28, 1836, by John Dawson.
Celia Hanks—Frank Hall, November 14, 1864.
Rachel Hanks—Elijah Gathard.
Lucinda or Lucy Hanks—Thomas Douglas, October 3, 1833.
Sarah Hanks—J. B. Brown, October 23, 1828.
Elizabeth Hanks—(1) Reason Ray; (2) Samuel Dillon.

FIRST GENERATION

Common ancestor of Abraham Lincoln and the Hanks family of Macon County.
Joseph Hanks married Ann Lee.

SECOND GENERATION

These are brothers and sisters:
William Hanks, Sr. married Elizabeth Hall.
Lucy Hanks married Henry Sparrow.
Nancy Hanks married Levi Hall, brother of Elizabeth Hall.
Elizabeth Hanks married Thomas Sparrow.

[43] Barton, *Paternity of Lincoln*, 404, 408; Power, *Early Settlers of Sangamon County*, 261; letter of Dunham Wright to Frank Sawyer, Feb. 14, 1935; letter of Emma Ferguson to Frank Sawyer; letter of Ipha Robbins to Edwin Davis; *Lincoln Lore*, June 13, 1938; Lamon, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, 143n.

THIRD GENERATION

First cousins—except Nancy Hanks Lincoln and perhaps Lucinda, Sarah and Elizabeth Hanks. All lived at one time in Macon County.

William Hanks, Sr.—his children:

Nancy Hanks married William Miller, Sr.

James Hanks married Rebeckah Atherton.

William Hanks, Jr. married Mary (or Polly) Quin.

Charles Hanks married Miss Morehead (?) or Hannah Martin (?).

Joseph Hanks married Sarah Hunter.

Lucinda or Lucy Hanks married Thomas Douglas.

Sarah Hanks married J. B. Brown.

Elizabeth Hanks married (1) Reason Ray; (2) Samuel Dillon; (Jubal Meador?).

John Hanks married Susan Malinda Wilson.

Celia Hanks married John Dunham Wright.

Andrew Jackson Hanks married (1) Malinda Porter, (2) Sophia Row (widow), and (3) Micha Moran.

Lucy Hanks-Sparrow—her daughter:

Nancy Hanks married Thomas Lincoln.

Nancy Hanks-Hall—her sons:

Dennis Hanks married Elizabeth Johnston.

Squire Hall married Matilda Johnston.

FOURTH GENERATION

These are second cousins. A few never lived in Macon County, Illinois.

James Hanks—his children:

Isaac Hanks married (1) Elizabeth C. Cox; (2) Emma Abrams.

Nancy Hanks married (1) Abraham Miller; (2) Andrew S. Muirhead.

Elizabeth Jane Hanks married Joseph Heckel.

Mary Hanks died young.

John Lewis Hanks died young.
Susan Hanks died young.
Lucinda Jane Hanks married Jacob Hauser. She married again.
William B. Hanks ("Gold Bill") married Adeline Wigle.
Andrew Jackson Hanks married Martha Emeline Hunter.
Margaret Hanks.
Sarah M. Hanks married Webster (or Wesley) Calhoun.
Rebeccah Ellen Hanks married John William Tyler.
Martha Emeline Hanks married (1) Benjamin H. Righter;(2) William A. Bridges.

William Hanks, Jr.—his children:
Joshua B. Hanks married Julia Stanfield.
Jesse W. Hanks married (1) Martha Campbell; (2) Louisa Nye.
Huldah Hanks died at the age of fourteen.
John Dunham Hanks married Sarah E. Boswell. He married again.

Joseph Hanks—his children:
Rachel Hanks married Elijah Gathard.
Margaret Jane Hanks married Harrison H. Taggart.
Celia Hanks married Frank Hall.
Mary Elizabeth Hanks married Frank Hall.

John Hanks—his children:
William J. Hanks ("Cholery Bill") married Mary E. Henson.
James Lewis Hanks.
Malinda Jane Hanks married Alexander T. Mettlin.
John Felix (or Phelix) Hanks.
Emily Hanks married Elijah Loomis.
Alexander Grayson Hanks married Mary C. Montgomery.
Levi Toby Hanks.
Mary Ellen Hanks married John T. Manon.

Celia Hanks Wright—her children:
Marvin Wright.
Hannah Elizabeth Wright.

William Linneous Wright.
Persilla Wright.
Dunham Wright.
Elisha Wright.
Electa Wright.

Andrew Jackson Hanks—his children.
Elizabeth Hanks married J. T. McNeil.
Henry Hanks.

Nancy Hanks-Lincoln—her son:
Abraham Lincoln married Mary Todd.

Dennis Hanks—his children:
Nancy Hanks married James Shoaff.
Harriet Hanks married Augustus H. Chapman.
Jane Hanks married Thomas Dowling.
John Talbot Hanks.

Squire Hall—his son:
John Johnston Hall.

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS
1939

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Directors and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I present herewith a summary of the activities of the Illinois State Historical Society since the last annual meeting on May 14, 1938.

In my report of two years ago I noted that for the first time in several years the Society's membership showed a net increase. Last year I was again able to report a gain. This year I take pleasure in announcing that the Society's membership stands today at 910—an increase of approximately 250 over the low mark of 1936. This gain has been made in spite of the Society's much stricter practice as far as dues are concerned, for the policy of dropping members for non-payment of dues within a reasonable time, instead of carrying their names for several years, has been steadily adhered to.

This increase in membership is in large part the result of routine promotional work on the part of the Society's staff. Work of that kind can be continued, and will doubtless be productive enough to justify itself, but the Society can never hope to attain the size it should attain by this means alone. By far the most effective promotional work is that done by enthusiastic members, so well pleased by the Society's publications and activities that they want their friends of similar interests to share its benefits. With relatively little work of this kind our membership would expand to four figures in short order. The Society has much to offer its members, and deserves the adherence of a larger number than it now enjoys. Whether that larger number is to be obtained or not depends in large part on the efforts of its present membership.

In this connection the Society should be reminded that the present life membership fee is in need of readjustment. When

annual dues were increased from $1.00 to $2.00 several years ago, life membership dues were apparently overlooked, and they remain at $25.00, a disproportionately low figure. I recommend that the Society move to increase life membership dues to $50.00, a figure which is certainly not too high in view of prevailing interest rates.

I have said that the increase in the Society's membership was due in large part to promotional work by the staff. The work has been made much easier by the improvements which have recently been made in the Society's publications. The *Journal* continues to occasion favorable comment, while the first volume of *Papers in Illinois History* met a more enthusiastic response than any publication which the Society has issued within my knowledge. Requests for copies of the book came from all parts of the United States, and a number of individuals expressed a desire to join the Society on the strength of this publication alone. The reception this book has received demonstrates convincingly that attractive design, good printing and ample illustrations in historical publication are well worth the effort and cost.

The Society's publications, nevertheless, are not designed and should not be designed for a large audience. Not only must they adhere to strict standards of scholarship, but they must also serve as a medium of publication for many papers which though important may be far from popular. However, the large audience does exist, at least potentially, and I believe that the Society will fail to realize its opportunity to the full if it neglects it.

Two methods of appeal suggest themselves. One is a series of popular publications along the lines which the Society has been considering for some time—brief, general in treatment, interestingly written, and attractively though inexpensively printed. The other is the radio.

Historical subjects have been one of the favorite fields of commercial radio sponsors—a fact that is sure proof of their popularity. Beginnings have been made with good results by several historical societies. If programs combining accuracy and popular appeal,

and within the Society's means, can be devised, the results cannot help but be beneficial. In my opinion, a series of programs should have two objectives: to stimulate interest in Illinois history, and to make the Society and its activities better known. How these objectives can best be attained is a matter to be decided by those having experience in this field. At this time I recommend only that the subject be considered and investigated. Any action which may appear to be desirable should be taken only after thorough investigation.

Historical markers constitute another means of stimulating interest in Illinois. As members of the Society are aware, a number of markers have been erected in recent years by the Society in co-operation with the State Division of Highways. During the past twelve months, however, no new markers have been placed. The staff has been so fully occupied with matters demanding immediate attention that little time could be spared for the exacting task of selecting suitable sites, preparing texts, and locating the markers themselves. More important, however, is the fact that the type of marker which the Society has been using does not seem to be performing its function with desirable efficiency. If not painted at frequent intervals, the gold lettering fades and becomes hard to read against the dark blue background. A graver defect is the practice, to which we have adhered, of placing the marker parallel with the road instead of at right angles to it. Even though signs inform motorists that a historical marker is ahead, the marker is so inconspicuous as now placed that only an insignificant number of passersby are ever aware of its existence.

I am confident that markers with black lettering on a white background, set at right angles to the road, are many times as effective as those which we have been using. Unfortunately, as the effectiveness of a marker increases, the traffic hazard created by any distraction to a motorist traveling at high speed becomes greater. The problem, therefore, involves the Division of Highways as well as the Society, and must be solved with its co-operation. Some solution will be sought, and it is hoped, found, in the near future.

In my report of a year ago I wrote at some length of the possibility that the Old State House at Springfield might be re-acquired by the State of Illinois. The discussions then in progress had emphasized the need for a detailed plan for the use of the building in the event that it was made a memorial, and those concerned were agreed that the proper organization to formulate such a plan was the Illinois State Historical Society. At that time I stressed the difficulties involved and emphasized the desirability of technical assistance from someone experienced in museum work. It will be recalled that authority was given to make arrangements with the National Park Service for the temporary employment of a member of its staff for this purpose.

Not long after our annual meeting last year the situation with reference to the Old State House changed rapidly. What had seemed to be a promising possibility practically vanished. Seeing no likelihood that this structure would come into the possession of the State of Illinois in anything like the near future, I canceled the arrangement which had already been made with the National Park Service for the loan of one of their museum technicians. In my opinion, the Society was not justified in investing a substantial sum in a plan which, as far as one can at present foresee, can have no practical application for years to come.

For many years the Society has been holding a public meeting in Springfield on December 3—the day on which the State of Illinois was admitted to the Union. In 1938 the meeting was held as usual, and the address of the occasion was delivered by Dr. Louis Gottschalk, Chairman of the Department of History, University of Chicago. The meeting was well attended and most successful in every respect. Dr. Gottschalk's address was published in the March issue of the *Journal*.

The anniversary of the State's admission to the Union was made the occasion for an experiment which had most gratifying results. From time to time we have been releasing news stories of historical interest through the press associations. In connection with the date of the State's admission, however, a direct release in the name of the Society was tried. Clippings showed that the

story was widely used, and indicated the advisability of similar releases whenever a good occasion was offered. In this way many thousands of people over the State may be made more keenly aware of the Society and its work.

Another means of bringing the Society to the attention of the people is through personal appearances by the Secretary. Since the last annual meeting of the Society the Secretary has spoken on historical subjects at Rockford College, Illinois College and Southern Illinois State Normal University, and before historical societies and other groups in Springfield, Belleville, East St. Louis, Decatur and Paxton. He has also spoken over Radio Station WJJD and participated in one University of Chicago Radio Round Table discussion. During the past year he served as Secretary of the Illinois Northwest Territory Celebration Commission, and as a member of the Advisory Council for the Dictionary of American History.

Since our last annual meeting death has taken the following members of the Society:

Frank Erwin Brandt.....Rock Island
Manley E. Chester.....New Haven, Conn.
L. M. Dixon.....Springfield
C. A. Earle.....Des Plaines
Joseph W. Fifer.....Bloomington
Albert W. Goodrich.....Chicago
J. P. Gorin.....Decatur
Ross C. Hall.....Chicago
Mrs. Isabel Flagg Hatch.....Springfield
Frank Farnsworth Holmes.....Chicago
James Hamilton Lewis.....Chicago
John S. Little.....Rushville
Samuel McCalmont.....Morrison
George Mason.....Chicago
A. G. Mitten.....Goodland, Ind.
Mrs. Georgiana Murphy.....Chicago
P. G. Rennick.....Peoria

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL M. ANGLE.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, MAY 13, 1939

A quorum being present, President James called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last annual meeting were then read and approved.

The location of the next annual meeting of the Society was made the first order of business. The Secretary read communications from President Theodore Pierson Stephens of Aurora College, President A. Roy Peffers of the Aurora Chamber of Commerce and Mayor H. B. Warner of Aurora inviting the Society to meet in Aurora in 1940; also a letter from President Roscoe Pulliam of the Southern Illinois State Normal University inviting the Society to Carbondale in 1940. Mr. Charles P. Burton of Aurora spoke on behalf of the invitation extended by that city; Dr. Richard L. Beyer represented Carbondale. At the conclusion of their remarks it was moved by Dean Wallis, seconded by Mr. Hauberg, and passed that the next annual meeting of the Society be held at Carbondale on a convenient date in May, 1940. It was also declared to be the sense of those present that a renewal of the Aurora invitation would be welcomed in 1940, although the Society was unable to make a binding promise with reference to the location of the annual meeting in 1941.

The Secretary then made a report covering the progress of the Society since the last annual meeting and making certain recommendations for the future. The various subjects in the report and recommendations were discussed and disposed of as follows:

1. *Writings in American History.* On motion of Dr. Pease, seconded by Mr. Townley, the Society's customary subvention of $50 was voted to this publication.

2. Life Membership. On motion of Mr. Hauberg, seconded by Mr. Stevens, it was voted to raise life membership dues from $25 to $50 at the next annual meeting, and the Secretary was

directed to send out notices as prescribed by the Society's constitution.

3. Resolution of Appreciation. On the motion of Mr. East, seconded by Dr. Pease, the following resolutions of appreciation and commendation were passed unanimously:

WHEREAS, the fortieth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society has been one of the most successful in the organization's history, and

WHEREAS, the success of this meeting has been due principally to the efficient co-operation and cordial hospitality of the officers and members of the Quincy Historical Society and the citizens of Nauvoo,

Be it Resolved, by the Illinois State Historical Society, that formal but by no means perfunctory appreciation be hereby expressed, and

Be it also Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the officers of the Quincy Historical Society and to the Mayor of Nauvoo.

WHEREAS, The members of the Illinois State Historical Society during their fortieth annual meeting have been most favorably impressed by the splendid building and efficient organization of the Quincy Historical Society,

Be it Resolved, by the Illinois State Historical Society, that the Quincy Historical Society be congratulated upon its possession of its beautiful and historic quarters, that it be commended for its active membership, and that it be cited as an example of what can be accomplished when interest in history and civic improvement is combined with vision and industry.

4. Popular Publications. Discussion revealed that there was little confidence, on the part of those present, in the manuscripts in preparation by the Federal Writers' Project, which the Secretary had described and recommended. On motion of Dean Wallis, seconded by Mr. Hauberg, the entire subject of popular publications was referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. James, Angle, Pease, Randall and East.

5. Radio Programs. Discussion of the Secretary's recommendation that the Society investigate the possibility of stimulating interest in Illinois history through a series of radio programs under the Society's sponsorship revealed a generally favorable attitude. On motion of Dr. Pease, seconded by Mr. Tilton, a committee composed of Mr. Stevens and Mr. Angle was requested to investigate the possibilities, costs, etc., and report its findings.

6. Election of Directors. The Secretary read a telegram from Mrs. Henry W. English regretting her inability to be present at the meeting because of illness, and requesting that her resignation as a director be presented. On motion of Mr. Tilton, seconded by Dr. Pease, the Society voted unanimously not to accept her resignation.

On the motion of Mr. Tilton, seconded by Dr. Pease, James A. James, Mrs. Henry W. English, James G. Randall and John H. Hauberg were re-elected directors of the Society for terms of three years each.

On the motion of Dr. James, seconded by Dr. Pease, Dr. Dwight F. Clark of Evanston was elected to the existing vacancy (a three year term) on the board of directors.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, MAY, 13, 1939

Present: James A. James, Theodore C. Pease, Paul M. Angle, Clint Clay Tilton, Jewell F. Stevens, John H. Hauberg, Wayne C. Townley, Ernest E. East, James G. Randall and Dwight F. Clark.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented a financial report for the period May 11, 1938 to May 10, 1939. This report showed disbursements totaling $1,145.82 and a balance of $5,761.02. The report was accepted and ordered placed on file.

Mr. Stevens suggested that part of the Society's funds be invested in government securities. It was moved by Mr. East, seconded by Mr. Stevens, and passed, that a committee of three be appointed to investigate the question of investing funds of the Society in securities of the United States or the State of Illinois, and that said committee have power to act.

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the report of the auditing committee, Mr. Logan Hay, which was accepted and ordered placed on file.

The Directors then adopted the same budget for the year 1939-1940 as for the year 1938-1939.

All officers of the Society were then re-elected for the year 1939-1940.

The meeting adjourned until December 3, 1939.

THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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